

The Advisory Council on Education in Scotland: 1920-1961

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Drawing mainly on primary sources, this thesis is an analytic account of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland from the constitution of the first Council in 1920 to the conclusion of the term of office of the eighth Council in 1961. The Advisory Council was modelled on the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education in England, to act in an advisory capacity to the central Department. Unlike the Consultative Committee, however, the Advisory Council was generally unable to shake itself free from the close supervision of the central Department, producing notable reports on two occasions only, once soon after its establishment, and again at the end of the second World War, when the sixth Council produced four major reports. On both occasions, in the early 1920's and the late 1940's, the reports of the Council were highly regarded by the Scottish educational community, but were not adopted by the Department.

The thesis examines the role played by the Advisory Council in the educational policy-making process, and argues that a fundamental reason for the Council's failure to influence Scottish educational policy lay in the relation of its powers to those of the Scottish Education Department. Particular attention is given to the origins and reception of the Council's exceptional reports, and to the development of public secondary education in Scotland, the substantive issue on which the Council and the Department were most sharply in disagreement. The analysis takes into account the effects of war and the influence of reformist opinion on educational policy, and notes the parts played by ministers, senior civil servants, and prominent educationists in decision-making. Contemporary initiatives by the English central authority are also regarded as significant in the analysis. A historical perspective is provided by the first and last chapters of the thesis: Chapter 1 describes the origins of the Council, and the final chapter comments on the structures of advice which replaced it.

In the wider context of educational governance, the thesis is a case study of how in practice advice has been formulated, tendered and dealt with.

This thesis has been composed entirely by the author
on the basis of his own research and fieldwork

John Young

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experience as Director of Education for Aberdeen County in the post-war period.

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List of Abbreviations

ADES – Association of Directors of Education in Scotland.

AHSSS – Association of Headmasters of Senior Secondary Schools.

BEd – Bachelor of Education.

B of E – Board of Education.

CAC – Central Advisory Council.

CCC – Central Committee on the Curriculum.

CI – Central Institution.

DES – Department of Education and Science.

EIS – Educational Institute of Scotland.

GTC – General Teaching Council.

HMI – His/Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools.

HMCI – His/Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools.

HMSCI His/Her Majesty's Senior Chief Inspector of Schools.

LCC – London County Council.

M of E – Ministry of Education.

NFU – National Farmers Union.

NUT – National Union of Teachers.

PEP – Political and Economic Planning (Group).

SCEEB – Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board.

SCRE – Scottish Council for Research in Education.

SEA – Secondary Education Association.

SED – Scotch/Scottish Education Department.

SEJ – Scottish Educational Journal

SLC – Senior Leaving Certificate.

S of S – Secretary of State for Scotland.

SSEC – Secondary Schools Examinations Council.

TES – Times Educational Supplement.

TES(S) – Times Educational Supplement (Scotland).

WEA – Workers' Educational Association.

Figures prominent in the affairs of the Council

Sir John Struthers From 1904 until 1922 John Struthers was Permanent Secretary of the Scotch/Scottish Education Department. As Secretary, he earned a reputation as a brilliant administrator of a somewhat autocratic disposition. Although personally opposed to the establishment of an advisory council, he acceded to political pressure in 1917, and took steps to draw up a constitution for an advisory body of strictly limited powers. He hoped that by meticulously orchestrating the new council's proceedings he could limit its powers of initiative, and treat it as "a sort of Departmental Cabinet". It became clear, however, during the course of 1920/21 that he could not control the Advisory Council as he had hoped he might, and it was left to his successor, George Macdonald, to curtail the independence of the Council.

Sir George Macdonald George Macdonald was a numismatist of international repute, a classicist, and an expert in archaeology. Curator of the Hunterian Coin Cabinet, and Curator of Coins to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, he was also a translator from German and French. In 1904, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Department in Edinburgh, becoming Second Secretary in 1918. He collaborated closely with Struthers over the drafts of the 1918 Bill and in planning policy for the post-World War I period. On succeeding Struthers as Secretary of the Department in 1922, he took action to restrict the initiative of the Advisory Council by persuading it to adopt procedures which would render it impotent as an influential advice-giving body.

Duncan McGillivray President of the Educational Institute of Scotland in 1919, Duncan McGillivray was appointed to the first Advisory Council as a representative of the teaching profession. Although neither Chairman of the Council nor convener of any of its sub-committees, he succeeded in having his views on the organisation of post-primary education accepted by the Council. His main concern, expressed in the

Advisory Council's first published report, was that there should be an intermediate stage of education for all pupils aged 12–15, in which there would be a common core curriculum supplemented by course options. That proposal was rejected by the Department in 1921, and although McGillivray remained a member of the first Council, and was appointed to the second, after 1921 he took a less active interest in its work.

Sir Arthur Rose Chairman of the Edinburgh Education Authority and President of the Association of Education Authorities in 1919, Arthur Rose was a prominent business man, a member of a family of wealthy industrialists. Although, by his own admission, he was not well versed in the technicalities of schools organisation he was nevertheless elected Chairman of the first Advisory Council, and, in that capacity, he assisted the Department to exercise increasing control over the Council.

Sir James Irvine Irvine was Sir Arthur Rose's successor as Chairman of the Advisory Council. He was Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of St Andrew's, and had written numerous papers on the chemistry of sugars. His over-riding priority as Chairman of the Council was that its work should be co-ordinated with the policy of the Department, and, soon after his appointment as Chairman, he sought the advice of George Macdonald regarding control of the Council, "a body of men who are essentially enthusiastic but might, on occasions, be impractical". During his term of office as Chairman of the Council, Irvine made little effort to prevent it from slipping further into obscurity.

Tom Johnston Described by "Who's Who" as a "public speaker on financial and historical questions", Tom Johnston was Secretary of State for Scotland between 1941 and 1945. A Labour member, with strong nationalistic tendencies, Johnston established a Council of ex-Secretaries of State to oversee and direct policy for post-war "Reconstruction". In response to a suggestion from the Scottish Education Department that the Advisory Council be recalled, after the suspension of its activities on the outbreak of war, Johnston duly reconstituted the Council in 1942, but on grander lines,

and with an enhanced sense of its own importance. When, however, the major reports of the Council were under consideration after the war, he was no longer in office as Secretary of State, having become Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Board in 1945.

Sir John Mackay Thomson As Permanent Secretary of the Scottish Education Department in 1941, Mackay Thomson recommended to Tom Johnston as Secretary of State for Scotland, that the Advisory Council be reconstituted after some three years in abeyance. Mackay Thomson was not, however, a strong believer in the principle of the Department taking advice from a statutory advisory body, but he preferred that educational problems under the Government's "Reconstruction" strategy be submitted to the Advisory Council in the first instance rather than to Johnston's newly-appointed Council of ex-Secretaries of State. Mackay Thomson took little active part in the internal affairs of the wartime Council or its successor, but took the significant step of setting up a departmental committee to consider, and eventually reject, the recommendations of the report "Secondary Education", arguably the Advisory Council's most radical and controversial report.

Sir James Robertson J J Robertson, who wrote the Advisory Council report "Secondary Education", had had first-hand experience of the problems of secondary education when he was appointed to the wartime Council in 1942. He was then Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School, and had formerly been Rector of the Royal High School in Edinburgh and head teacher at Falkirk and Fort William. On the Department's rejection of the report "Secondary Education", Robertson was bitterly disappointed, but remained active in the affairs of the Advisory Council in its succeeding terms of office until 1961. During the 1960s he was unreservedly critical of the new "hole and corner" structures of advice which were then effectively replacing the Advisory Council as the Department's principle source of advice.

William McClelland An educationist of wide experience, having been director of education for Wigtown and then Professor of Education at St Andrew's University,

William McClelland was Executive Officer of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers when appointed a member of the wartime Council. He exerted a strong influence on the work of that Council through his participation in its debates, in convening its committee on the training of teachers and writing the report on that remit, and indirectly through his book "Selection for Secondary Education", which was referred to in the Council's deliberations. His report on the training of teachers found little favour with the Department, but McClelland, though disappointed with that response, continued to take a leading part in the work of the Council as Chairman of the first post-war Council. That first post-war Council, and indeed the only other one, that of 1957-61, did not exert a significant influence on educational policy.

Sir James Henderson Stewart One of the three MPs appointed to the wartime Council by Tom Johnston "to kill their nuisance value", Henderson Stewart participated energetically in that Council's early debates, but did not contribute significantly at the stage of making firm recommendations or drafting chapters of reports. In the late 1940s, he unsuccessfully pressed Labour ministers in the House for action on the report "Secondary Education". Originally a National Liberal, he was appointed Under Secretary of State for Scotland in the Conservative administration which took office in 1951. Always a strong supporter of the Council as the authoritative source of advice to the Scottish Education Department, he succeeded in having the Council reconstituted in 1957 in spite of the Department's reluctance to recall it.

Introduction

THE STATUTORY POSITION

The Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, constituted on the model of the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education in England, sat almost continuously from 1920 to 1939, from 1942 to 1951, and from 1957 until 1961, since which time it has not been recalled. Provided for by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918,¹ almost two decades after the Consultative Committee first sat, the Council was first constituted by the Scottish Education Department (Advisory Council) Order, 1920,² and was periodically reconstituted by subsequent orders in council. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1946³ gave sharper definition to the structure of the Council, but left its powers unaltered. The Advisory Council's authorisation as a statutory body is Section 20 of the 1918 Act,⁴ which states

It shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council by order to establish an advisory council consisting, as to not less than two-thirds of the members, of persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education, for the purpose of advising the Department on educational matters, and the Department shall take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the advisory council.

THE ARGUMENT

The argument of the thesis generally supports the received view of the Advisory Council: that it was a body which apparently had little direct influence on Scottish educational policy. It challenges the received interpretation of the significance of the Council, however, in suggesting that the Advisory Council for much of its existence was regarded by the Scottish Education Department (SED) as either a potential or actual threat to its authority as the agent of central policy making. The creation of an advisory council was advocated in the early years of the twentieth century as a check on the alleged despotic tendencies of the SED under first Sir Henry Craik, and then Sir John Struthers, the first two Permanent Secretaries of the Department. These proposals for an advisory body made up mainly of representatives of the educational

interest groups were resisted by Struthers. Pressure for reform towards the end of the First World War, however, ensured that an advisory body similar in constitution to the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education (B of E) would be established for Scotland. In drafting the section of the 1918 Bill which would provide for the Council, Struthers attempted to restrict the power of the proposed Council by prescribing its functions and making it responsive only to remits from the Department. Parliamentary debate on the Bill, however, resulted in an ambiguous "Advisory Council Clause", which did not clearly define how the Council stood in relation to the Department.

The first test of the Council's powers came as a consequence of its first report.⁵ In that report the Council proposed that public education be organised in three stages, primary, intermediate, and secondary, the third of these stages, secondary education, to be open to all pupils deemed fit to profit by it. The Department, however, in its own proposals for reorganisation, recognised only primary and secondary education, courses distinct in kind, with only limited opportunity for pupils to transfer from the primary to the secondary school. The Department's policy, much less costly than that of the Advisory Council which had presumed a leaving age of 15 and an expansion of the post-primary sector as envisaged by the Act, accorded better with central government's emerging commitment to retrenchment, and, before being made public in 1921, it secured the approval of Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland. By skilfully stage-managing the presentation of its own proposals, the Department succeeded in pre-empting the announcement of those of the Council.

The rupture in relations between the Department and the Council which resulted from the manner of presentation and the content of the Department's proposals in Circular 44 of 1921,⁶ was a serious one. Relations between the two bodies were markedly strained for the remainder of the term of office of the first Council. Having asserted itself over the Council in 1921, the Department was not prepared to contemplate the possibility of future confrontations with the Advisory Council, and to that end, Sir George Macdonald, Struthers' successor as Secretary of the Department, took steps to

secure control of the Council. The measures taken by Macdonald proved so effective that they entirely undermined the Council's initiative as a policy-making body in the inter-war years. A consequence of the the virtual suppression of the Advisory Council and the Department's zealous commitment to its own bipartite policy for the post-primary sector, was that the interest groups in Scottish education alienated themselves from the Department, and rather than look to the Council for leadership and educational advance, they sought inspiration elsewhere. The founding of the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) in 1928 by "the grass roots"⁷ to make investigations into topics of their mutual concern, and that university departments of education became focal points for educational debate and progress in that period, are indicative of a widening rift between the periphery on the one hand and the central Department on the other.

A more acceptable *modus vivendi* between the Council and the Department was established in the mid-1930s, the new relationship being marked by the publication of two Advisory Council reports⁸ after a decade of public silence. The better relations between the Council and the Department, however, did little to bring the periphery and the centre closer together, but the practices established in the years before World War II seemed to indicate to the Department that in the Advisory Council it had a constitutionally independent body which it could trust, and on which it could rely for uncontroversial advice. Certainly, when it became apparent in the early years of World War II that the Department would be required to prepare a programme of educational "Reconstruction" for the post-war period, the ~~then~~ Secretary, Sir John Mackay Thomson, had no hesitation in suggesting to the recently-appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, Tom Johnston, that the Advisory Council be reconstituted. In fact, he expressed a distinct preference that the Advisory Council rather than the constitutional innovation of Johnston's Council of ex-Secretaries of State be the body to advise on educational policy. Skilfully construing a proposal for the establishment of a high-powered committee of enquiry made by the secretary of one of the minor

pressure groups as an appeal for the reconstitution of the Advisory Council, Mackay Thomson persuaded Johnston to reconstitute the Council in 1942.

The impulsive Johnston was not, however, prepared to accept the Department's tested and proved 1930s model of an Advisory Council: he preferred a wide-ranging body with ample powers of initiative and discretion. In the constitution of the new Council, Mackay Thomson was obliged to endorse his political master's preference for just such a large, free-ranging body containing three MPs in addition to other interested parties. But in the early stages of the wartime Council's terms of office, Mackay Thomson succeeded, in spite of Johnston's and the Advisory Council's inclinations to the contrary, in limiting the Council's enquiries to matters relevant to the Department's preparation of a Bill which was to become the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act. On the completion of the remits relevant to the Act, however, the Council embarked on a series of enquiries which resulted in four major reports which were published soon after the war.

Two of these reports, "The Training of Teachers"⁹ and "Secondary Education"¹⁰, proved embarrassing to the Department, that on secondary education conspicuously so, in that while the Department had not yet come to conclusions on the post-war future of teacher training, it had been developing a policy for secondary education since before the outbreak of war. The Department's policy for secondary education, which now accepted secondary education as a stage in the educative sequence, was based on bipartite organisation in either junior secondary schools providing three year courses with some practical specialisation leading to the Junior Leading Certificate, a local authority award, or senior secondary schools providing five year mainly academic courses leading to the Senior Leaving Certificate, the traditional qualification for entrance to a university. The Advisory Council's policy, however, postulated a four year course with a common core for all pupils onto which would be grafted course options, leading to a national School Certificate, to be followed by more specialised courses for those staying on at school beyond the age of 16. Clearly, the impasse of

1921 between the Department and the Advisory Council, was about to be re-enacted in 1947. After the Second World War, however, direct confrontation was avoided in that the Department did not respond immediately to the challenge implied in the Advisory Council's report, but delayed its response, and, in certain areas of little consequence, sought common ground with the Advisory Council.

It had become clear, however, that once again the Department and the Advisory Council had come to fundamentally different conclusions on the organisation of secondary education, and that many of the Council's other recommendations were not compatible with emergent Departmental policy. It was not simply that secondary education was a particularly contentious area, although that was indeed the case, but that the structural relationship between the Department and its Advisory Council was in need of overhaul if the advisory and executive bodies were to be better co-ordinated. The Act of 1946 had included an "Advisory Council Clause",¹¹ but this had made little difference to the existing functional relationship, as became obvious during the term of office of the seventh Council which sat between 1947 and 1951. Although there was no public disagreement between the Department and the Council in these years, one of the remits, that on further education, proved vexatious, and could only have added to the growing conviction in the Department that the Advisory Council had outlived its usefulness.

The Council did not sit between 1951 and 1957, and in that period and beyond it, the advice-giving role was increasingly taken up by working parties made up of officials of the Department and members of the educational interest groups, who had been selected to deliberate on particular issues. The working parties were apparently a more successful machinery of consultation, harnessing together the advisory and executive parties, and producing reports on which prompt administrative action could be taken. Certainly, from the Department's point of view they were to be preferred, and it was only at the instigation of a junior minister who had sat as an MP on the war-time Council that the Advisory Council was reluctantly called for a final term of

office in 1957. Since the mid-1960s, working parties have been replaced by more permanent structures of advice, the General Teaching Council (GTC), the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB) and the Central Committee on the Curriculum (CCC). The GTC is an independent body of limited powers, but both the SCEEB and the CCC were constituted on the "partnership" model of the working parties, bringing together representatives of the executive centre and the advice-giving periphery.¹² Although still provided for by statute, the Advisory Council has not been reconstituted since 1961, leaving the SED free from the challenge of a rival policy-making body, but also depriving it of a wholly independent source of advice.

It is outwith the scope of this thesis to make a detailed analysis of the effectiveness of the successors to the Advisory Council as the main advisory body to the SED, but it has recently been suggested that these models are not entirely satisfactory to all the parties caught up in the consequences of their advice.¹³

ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

The main difficulty in setting out a context for discussing the significance of the Advisory Council derives from the fact that there is a paucity of published material referring either to the Council or its relations with the SED. Histories of Scottish education, which might have been expected to outline the role and function of the Council, are generally disappointing in that regard. In fact, none of the histories referring to the twentieth century¹⁴ gives detailed attention to the Department's advisory body. Even the apparently comprehensive "History of Scottish Education" by Scotland¹⁵ throws little light on the Council. The omission of references to the Council are, however, perhaps only symptoms of a greater malaise. In an uncompromising introduction to "Scottish Culture and Scottish Education", Humes and Paterson¹⁶ are critical of Scottish educational histories. Their critique suggests that historians of Scottish education have been unduly indulgent to the central authority, have given

scant attention to the origins of policy, and have side-stepped debates and controversies, thus implying that change in Scottish education has been an uninterrupted evolutionary development. Certainly, with regard to historians' treatment of the Advisory Council there is substance to these charges, and the four decades of the Advisory Council's successive terms of office are deserving of greater attention than they have received.

Writing in the 1920s soon after the impasse between the Council and the SED had resulted from the Council's first report, Morgan¹⁷ is neglectful in his lack of interest in the affair. He had an obvious opportunity to give a contemporary observer's analysis of the Council's alternative scheme to the Department's far-reaching proposals to reorganise post-primary education on bipartite lines as set out in Circular 44 of 1921.¹⁸ These proposals, which found little favour among Scottish educationists, were given statutory authority by the codes of 1923, a measure which aroused lively discussion in the Scottish Estimates debate later that year. Rather than refer to the isolation of the Department in this matter, however, Morgan presents an adulatory description of the effects of the new codes regarding "Types of Schools and Curricula",²⁰ and ignores the part played by the Advisory Council at the crucial stage of plans for reorganisation being drawn up.

Similarly, Knox going to press in 1953, passed up an opportunity to discuss the impact that the wartime Council's report "Secondary Education"²¹ made on the Scottish educational community, or even refer to the Council's part in the SED's "Reconstruction" programme. He could hardly have been unaware of the publication of the report, as it had been received with considerable publicity in the contemporary press. His contribution to knowledge on the Council, however, consists of no more than rehearsing the terms of Section 20 of the 1918 Act, and making the claim that the powers conferred on the Council were considerably more extensive than those of the Consultative Committee. He observes that while the Consultative Committee by the terms of its constitution could only deal with matters referred to it by the central

department in England the Advisory Council was empowered to make representations to the SED of its own volition. He does not, however, argue towards this debatable conclusion, he merely asserts it. So also does he assert that it was not until some years after its establishment in 1920 that the Council had any impact on Scottish educational affairs. Indeed, the general impression conveyed by published authors who refer to the Council is that it exerted little influence until reconstituted in 1942. Hunter's comment is typical, "To begin with, the Advisory Council did not have a great impact on Scottish educational affairs, but after its reconstitution in 1942 and 1946 it produced a number of valuable reports".²²

Among published texts, where reference is made at all to the Council, it is usually merely incidental to the main thrust of the writer's argument, (where argument rather than mere narrative is pursued), and these references usually convey little information about the activities of the Council itself. In the work of Wade,²³ however, an American academic writing in the late thirties, the Advisory Council is recognised for what it was immediately after its establishment in 1920, a significant forum of opinion which reflected the views of the educational constituencies which it represented. Wade also draws attention to the fact that there was a serious rupture in relations between the Department and the Scottish educational community as a consequence of the disagreement between the Department and the Council. He notes that the report of the Council published in 1923 "met with the universal approval of education authorities and the teaching profession in contrast to the general disapproval of the reorganization proposals set forth in Circular 44".²⁴

To find fuller discussion of the significance of the Advisory Council one must turn to the recently-published "Reconstructions of Secondary Education", by Gray, McPherson and Raffe,²⁵ and to unpublished theses which draw on primary sources. The most comprehensive analysis of the contribution of the Advisory Council in the post-war period, though limited in scope to that of just one committee of the war-time Council, is that of Gray, McPherson and Raffe. The authors make clear that as a blueprint for

post-war reform, the report of the advisory council on secondary education recommended a radical restructuring of the existing system. The report can indeed "be understood as a heroic attempt to adapt a philosophy of liberal education, conceived originally for the higher education of a small elite, to the requirements of mass education".²⁶ In addition to summarising the main points of that report and commenting on their implications, the authors argue that certain developments in post-war policy owe their inspiration to that report.

Findlay's unpublished PhD thesis on the career of Sir John Struthers, Secretary of the Department between 1904 and 1922, examines the Parliamentary proceedings leading up to the 1918 Act.²⁷ In so doing, it refers to pressures exerted by Liberal politicians and the larger School Boards in Scotland to curb what they regarded as the excessive power of the Secretary of the Department. Findlay's thesis makes clear that the campaign for the establishment of a national advisory council on education was advanced by its supporters as an alternative to their original demand that the Department be physically removed from London to Edinburgh. Weighand's MEd dissertation, although eventually mainly concerned with the development of post-primary education in Dundee and Forfarshire in the 1920s, also throws some light on the Advisory Council at a critical stage of its relations with the Department.²⁸ His dissertation contains a chapter devoted to the SED's emergent policy for the reorganisation of post-primary education as outlined in Circular 44. It discusses public responses to the circular, relates the role of the Advisory Council in offering an alternative scheme of reorganisation, and indicates how the Department began to assert firmer control over the Council.

Concentrating on the central administration of education in Scotland during the Second World War, Lloyd's PhD thesis²⁹ outlines in considerable detail the interaction between Tom Johnston as Secretary of State for Scotland and the SED that led to the reconstituting of the Council in 1942. He also describes the early stages of the war-time Council's term of office, making clear that relations between the Council and

the SED were not always harmonious. Continuing the narrative, he outlines the contribution made by the Council to the terms of the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act, but having other priorities, he does not pursue his detailed interest in the Council beyond the early stages of the reconstituted Council's term of office.

The purpose of secondary education, its position in the structure of the public system, and how it should be articulated with other levels of that system, are themes which have persistently engaged the minds of twentieth century policy makers, and these themes have been at the root of much of the disaffection between the Department and its Advisory Council. In both 1921 and 1947 the Advisory Council held the view that secondary schooling should be open to all pupils, that in the secondary (or intermediate school as described by the first Advisory Council) there should be a common core curriculum, which would satisfy the educational needs both of those who would leave school at the statutory minimum leaving age and those who would go on to the university and the professions. On these two occasions, the Department on the other hand, took the view that only the minority of pupils of academic bent should attend an upper stratum of post-primary schools, and that the non-academic majority should receive a different type of schooling altogether. Anderson's recent book,³⁰ pursuing a different approach from that of the standard histories, describes competing conceptions of how post-primary schooling should be organised between 1872 and 1914, and may be taken as a historical backdrop against which confrontations over secondary education were enacted. Anderson's account of the efforts of the central authority to impose a policy of functional differentiation on the later stages of schooling in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and the first pre-war era of the twentieth, makes clear that the disagreement between the Advisory Council and the Department in 1921, and the more muted negative response of the Department to proposed thorough-going reform in the late 1940s, were episodes in a sustained debate as to the nature and function of post-primary education.

Taken together, Anderson's description of the emergence of the public secondary system in Scotland, the unpublished theses of Findlay, Weighand, and Lloyd, and the contributions of Wade and Gray et al, provide a rather skeletal framework for a history of the Advisory Council. While generally thought-provoking and informative in themselves, they do not, however, span the Council's successive terms of office, nor do they engage more than a few of the questions prompted by its existence. Indeed, these volumes do no more than complement the files of the Advisory Council held in the Scottish Records Office. These files provide a detailed account of the proceedings of the Council, and when supplemented by occasional publications of the Department referring to the Council, contemporary comments and reports in the press, and the relevant Annual Reports of the Department, they yield an informed insight to the work of the Council, and give an indication of its status in the structure of educational governance. It is on these files (prefixed ED in references and the bibliography) more than any other single source, that this study draws for the framework of the narrative.

The Advisory Council did not, however, operate in a vacuum. Like other committees of state it functioned within the British constitution, and an analysis of its impact must be set in a British context. Structurally, the SED, the central authority, is responsible to the Secretary of State for Scotland (the Secretary for Scotland until 1926), who, in his turn, is responsible to Parliament. Drawing its funds from the Treasury, the Department is constitutionally no more autonomous than any other branch of the Civil Service. The SED and its Advisory Council, therefore, have been required to conduct themselves within the bounds of tolerance set by Westminster and Whitehall. Accordingly, with regard to far-reaching policy, such as educational expansion on a national scale, for example, the power of the Department has been strictly limited. In lesser policy matters, however, such as the organisation of teacher training, the SED has had considerable freedom of action, a freedom of action often unimpeded by successive Scottish Secretaries, who have taken little interest in educational policy.

As part of the Civil Service, the Department has been constrained to follow the main

lines of British social policy, which, in the twentieth century, has been responsive to the UK's changing status in the world. The successive terms of office of the Advisory Council have occurred against a background of major upheavals in world power relations and British society, and these upheavals have been ultimately significant for developing educational policy. Most dramatic of these significant events were two world wars, that of 1914–18, which ended just before the first Council was established, and that of 1939–45. The effect of war on social policy has been closely examined by Marwick,³¹ who regards war as, among other things, an accelerator of social change. While not fully accepting Marwick's case, Pelling³² does not reject out of hand that social change is affected by war. He takes the view that substantive policy is rarely effected as a direct result of war, but that war might act as a prompt to reformist rhetoric and planning. Certainly, with regard to educational policy, it is a fact that two major Acts were passed for both Scotland and England, towards the end of the world wars, but that it took some years for these Acts to be fully implemented. It was, of course, also at about the end of the world wars that the Advisory Council was most vigorous, but the Council's proposals, even more so than the terms of the Acts, were subsequently diluted, if adopted at all.

But it is not only traumatic events such as war that determine when and how substantive change in educational policy will be enacted. There is also the force of public opinion, which, when effectively marshalled, can prepare the way for major change if not immediately secure it. Addison³³ argues convincingly that the social revolution which took place during the Second World War owed much to the efforts of an articulate "Middle Opinion" in the 1930s. Marwick,³⁴ too, has no doubts that an expressed need for social reform in the thirties contributed to a new conception of social justice. And Pelling notes the contribution made by civil servants to reform. He suggests

..... it would be true to say that the bulk of economic and social change during the war, where it was not the result of direct enemy action, was the product of conscious administrative policy. Most of the

leading Civil Servants and politicians had some experience of the domestic problems of the First World War, and they laid their plans so as to achieve as soon as possible the degree of control already attained by 1918.³⁵

A Scottish perspective on the major changes in social policy is given by Harvie, who, while making the by no means unchallengable claim that "where there was innovation /between 1922 and 1964/ it tended more and more to come from the Scottish Education Department",³⁶ is nevertheless instructive in outlining the contribution of Scottish "Middle Opinion". His short paper on the age of Tom Johnston³⁷ describes the environment within which the wartime Advisory Council acted. The paper also makes clear that Johnston, as Secretary of State for Scotland, was a forceful personality who demanded action from his senior Civil Servants, and took steps to reform central administration in Scotland. Under the aegis of a Council of ex-Secretaries of State, the Advisory Council enjoyed a status much higher than that accorded it in the inter-war years.

More so than contributors to the history of Scottish education, English educational historians have taken into account cultural, social, and political trends, and have set their narratives in these contexts. Musgrave,³⁸ Kazamias,³⁹ Dent,⁴⁰ and Graves,⁴¹ all provide informed accounts of developments in England during the course of the Scottish Advisory Council's terms of office, but the work of Simon⁴² and Gosden⁴³ bears most strongly on this present study. Simon makes explicit the negative effects of economic stagnation between the wars. He draws attention to the reports of the Geddes and May committees on proposals for developments in secondary education in England. Quoting liberally from Parliamentary debates and the records of the B of E, he also draws attention to the extent to which educational policy in England was determined politically, and according to economic conditions in the inter-war years. Gosden, too, refers in considerable detail to contemporary documents, both public and classified, and the second part of his "Education in the Second World War" makes

clear that officials of the Board of Education and wartime Ministers with responsibility for education in England worked closely together to produce policies which were in harmony with public opinion. Their referring to the wider context in which educational policy is determined enhances their analyses, and, where appropriate, economic, social, and political factors are taken into account in this study.

Within the more circumscribed area of advisory councils in education, English writers are also instructive. Most of the questions appropriate to the Scottish Advisory Council have also been asked in relation to the Consultative Committee and its successor, the Central Advisory Council in England. The work of a number of writers on educational advisory bodies in England provides a context in which the structural relations of the Advisory Council and the Department may be examined. Of central importance is Kogan and Packwood's critique of advisory councils and committees in education, which addresses many of the problems occasioned by a central authority being statutorily obliged to consider the advice of a committee made up of representatives of the educational interest groups.⁴⁴ Kogan and Packwood make clear, as did Selby-Bigge⁴⁵ before them, that throughout the years of the Consultative Committee's existence there were doubts as to its precise relationship with the Board. Its members were required to treat their deliberations as confidential, it could interview witnesses and commission information and memoranda from the Board, and it drew on the personnel of the Board for its secretarial requirements, yet it was a body quite distinct from the central authority itself. Kogan and Packwood offer no definitive answer to their question "Was the Committee internal or external?".⁴⁶ In 1917, contemplating the creation of the Scottish Advisory Council as a counterpart to the Consultative Committee, Struthers as Permanent Secretary to the Scottish Education Department, showed considerable awareness of the ambivalence of the proposed Council's position, noting that it must not be allowed to become "a purely external body criticising our /the SED's/ proposals ab extra"⁴⁷ but that it should be made "art and part of our doings".⁴⁸ It was plain to him that the constitutional

position of the proposed Advisory Council, like that of the Consultative Committee, would give it an authoritative voice which the Department could not simply ignore.

Sir Lewis Amherst Selby-Bigge, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education between 1911 and 1925, and writing soon after his retirement from that post, notes that during the course of its successive terms of office since 1900, the Consultative Committee had been regarded by many not only as an advice-giving body to the Board but also as a check on any ambitions towards bureaucratic dominance it might harbour.⁴⁹ He asserts strongly, however, that there had always been support for the principle that the Consultative Committee should never have the power to impinge on the authority of the minister for education, as that authority depended on his responsibility to Parliament. This argument had earlier been used by Struthers when the Scottish Advisory Council was about to be provided for by statute, as good reason for narrowly defining the powers of the proposed council.⁵⁰ Selby-Bigge draws attention to the Machinery of Government Committee which reported in 1919, a year before the Consultative Committee was reconstituted, and the Scottish Advisory Council constituted, noting its double-edged conclusion that

So long as advisory bodies are not permitted to impair the full responsibility of Ministers to Parliament, we think that the more they are regarded as an integral part of the normal organisation of a Department the more will Ministers be enabled to command the confidence of Parliament and the public in their administration of the services, which seem likely in an increasing degree to affect the lives of large sections of the community.⁵¹

On its reconstitution, significantly, no concession was made regarding the Consultative Committee's right to choose its own subjects for investigation, and thereby perhaps impinge on the discretion which the Board had hitherto exercised: it must still be directed by the Board as to its remits. In view of this, it is a matter of some surprise and interest that while the SED had intended that the Scottish Advisory Council should be restricted in the same way, the terms of the 1918 Act providing for the establishment of a council on education is not unambiguous in the matter of its giving

advice of its own volition.⁵²

The replacement of the Consultative Committee by Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales by the Education Act of 1944 resulted, to a considerable extent, from dissatisfaction with the formal relationship of the advisory body to the central department.⁵³ Constituted with the right to determine their own remits, these Councils were, paradoxically, in view of that concession, intended to relate more closely to the work of the new Ministry. Kogan and Packwood draw attention to the doubts of Sir Maurice Holmes, as Secretary, and to those of other senior officials of the Board of Education in 1942, regarding the constitution of the old Consultative Committee, and note that the new English Council failed to live up to expectations that it would co-operate more fully with the work of the Ministry. Despite the fact that the Ministry appointed assessors to sit on the Central Advisory Council, and that the Permanent Secretary had access to the minutes of Council meetings, the apparent wilfulness of the English Council's first chairman, Sir Fred Clarke, in his choice of remits, resulted in two highly-criticised reports which dealt with topics well down the Ministry's list of priorities.⁵⁴

By the Scottish Act of 1946 provision was made for the reconstitution of the Advisory Council in 1947 as the first post-war Council, on similar lines to the Central Advisory Council, but with no further clarification regarding its right to choose its own remits.⁵⁵ The best hope for co-operation with the Department was that an assessor had been appointed to advise on Departmental concerns, though not to act as a full Council member. But even with an assessor from the Department in attendance, that Council's committee on further education, dealing with a remit bequeathed to it by the wartime Council, found difficulty in harmonising its enquiries with the interests of the Department. The vexations resulting from the remit, however, stem not from the fact that that remit was far from the Department's centre of interest, as was the case regarding Clarke's choice of remits for the English Central Advisory Council, but because the Department was also engaged in producing policy initiatives in this

sector, as chapter 10 of this study indicates. The co-incidence of unsatisfactory reports from both the English and Scottish Councils, for quite opposite reasons, suggests that there was something yet inherently unsatisfactory in the structural relationship between advisers and the executive, whether or not the advisers were empowered to take the initiative with regard to remits, and in spite of the terms of reconstitution. This unsatisfactory relationship continued through the term of office of the eighth Advisory Council which sat between 1957 and 1961.

In both Scotland and England, during the 1950s, perhaps as a consequence of disillusionment with the reconstituted central advisory bodies, a number of ad hoc committees were set up to make recommendations on specific topics. Both the English and Scottish departments had made use of committees in the past, the English more so than the Scottish, to supplement the work of their principal advisory body, but the committees of the 1950s and the early 1960s, certainly in Scotland, began to take prominence over the work of the statutory Council. Appointed by the Department, these committees were made up of members of the Inspectorate, officials of the Department, and prominent figures from the educational interest groups. Dealing with narrow remits drawn up by the Department, these committees or working parties made recommendations on a range of current issues. Tight definition of remits, and having officers of the Department not simply as assessors but as full members of these committees, were steps which would surely guarantee the relevance of reports to the work of the Department while ensuring that recommendations would not run counter to emergent Departmental policy. Clearly, the rationale for encouraging these working parties was that they would bring together in a constructive way the advisory and executive parties, and thereby assist the co-ordination of the processes of generating advice and implementing it.

The working parties were not, however, universally welcomed. W B Inglis, then Principal of a College of Education, and a former member of the Advisory Council which sat between 1957 and 1961, criticises the working parties for what he regarded

as the over-representation of agents of the SED on their membership.⁵⁶ He points too, to the anomalous position in which SED members would find themselves were the Secretary of State to reject the advice of their working party, that in their executive capacity they would be obliged to administer policy contrary to the advice they had publicly tendered. In addition to this weakness, he identifies two others; that there need not be substantial overlap in the membership of the various committees dealing with related topics, this leading perhaps to mutually incompatible advice being given; and that the advice of working parties could abruptly be overturned by ministerial initiative, as happened in the case of the issue of Circular 600,⁵⁷ which requested of local authorities that they reorganise secondary education on comprehensive lines in spite of the SED's long-sustained bipartite policy. While the Advisory Council would have been as powerless as any of the other committees in the face of ministerial fiat, its constitution ensured that it would not fall victim of the other pitfalls referred to by Inglis. A year later, continuing the debate, a set of three articles by Sir James Robertson, who wrote the 1947 Advisory Council report "Secondary Education", attacks the restructuring of the Advisory Council after the war.⁵⁸ Robertson expresses doubts about the 1946 reconstitution of the Council designed to bring it into closer contact with the work of the Department. He reserves fiercest criticism, however, for the new working parties, "the kind of hole and corner advice machinery the Department has favoured for a decade now".⁵⁹

Whatever objections were made to the working parties, their procedures and patterns of membership were clearly preferred by central government to those of the Advisory Council. In a paper delivered in 1979, Raab notes the emergence of three permanent bodies set up in the 1960s to consult with the Department on teacher training and certification, national examinations, and the structure of the curriculum.⁶⁰ He explains how these bodies were accorded roles that formerly would have fallen naturally to the Advisory Council. One of these bodies, the General Teaching Council, was established as an autonomous professional association, which, notwithstanding its independence,

could yet be over-ruled by the Department were it to take initiatives in the areas devolved to it. The other two, the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (SCEEB) and the Central Committee on the Curriculum (CCC) were constituted with memberships on the model of the working parties, and with effective checks on their powers to make policy. With these new structures of advice, together with an Inspectorate which had recently been reformed to make it more active in the policy-making field, it could be argued, though it never in fact was, that the need for an Advisory Council had been obviated. In any event, though still provided for by statute, the Advisory Council has not been reconstituted since 1961.

The brief history of the Advisory Council, somewhat briefer than that of the Consultative Committee and its successors, indicates that the Scottish Council did not play a significant part at "the sharp end" of educational policy making. Where it advocated radical policy initiatives, its advice was either rejected or ignored by the Department. In fact, as with the English advisory body, much of the heat generated by the Advisory Council can be traced to its position in the structure of educational governance. As Kogan and Packwood point out, governmental committees such as the Advisory Council "stand half way between the formal authorities and informal systems"⁶¹ from which government takes advice. Appointed by ministers, financed by the Treasury and recruited largely from those with whom government has formal relations, they are indeed "the creatures of government".⁶² But, having no administrative role to play within the system over which they cast a critical eye, it is hardly surprising that successive Advisory Councils have been looked upon with suspicion by other "creatures of government". Established with a clear duty to review the system and to make recommendations, the Advisory Council's pronouncements have been closely scrutinised by those involved in the day to day administration of education, senior civil servants whose duty is to advise the minister responsible and not simply carry out his instructions. In the complex decision-making process as to action to be taken on recommendations of the Advisory Council, these officials have

exercised considerable power. Devoid of executive functions, the Advisory Council could only ever hope to persuade government departments acting in the name of the minister responsible, by the force of their arguments and the moral pressure exerted by the fact that their membership is drawn from the plurality of educational constituencies. A recurring problem in the course of the Advisory Council's existence, therefore, is whether it was empowered in fact to make an effective contribution to educational policy or whether it was as one of its early critics claimed "a fifth wheel in the coach".⁶³

The success of the Advisory Council in overcoming the inherent weakness of its constitutional position can, arguably, be considered in terms of responses to its reports. Regarding the implementation of reports or of educational policy initiatives derived from other sources, Graves suggests that reform of English education on a large scale requires the active co-operation of four distinct groups, "the Board of Education and the Treasury, the local Authorities, teachers, and parents."⁶⁴ In support of this claim he refers to the 1928 report of the Consultative Committee, "Books in Public Elementary Schools",⁶⁵ which had little impact on practice. He attributes its failure to the apathy of the local authorities and the government departments, and to the fact that the parents seemed in ignorance of the report. What he fails to do, however, is note the role of either Parliament or ministers in the fate of policy initiatives, or even suggest that the four-cornered partnership he postulates might not be an equal one. While admittedly writing before the creation of a Minister of Education with wide-ranging powers, it was within Graves' experience to acknowledge political involvement in education. Simon's account of the influence of the Consultative Committee, on the other hand, argues forcefully that reform on a national scale requires the support of politicians.⁶⁶ Corbett is certainly in no doubt that the success of the Robbins Report can be attributed to the application of political will.⁶⁷ The reports of the Scottish Advisory Council, however, can hardly claim to have captured the imagination of Scottish ministers, who have rarely taken more than a

superficial interest in education, and this neglect by those authorised to respond to the Council's recommendations has generally left the SED itself to deal with reports as it saw fit. An absence of ministerial involvement and the Department's suspicions of the Advisory Council have generally combined to thwart the implementation of the Council's reports, parents showing little inclination to involve themselves in the policy process, certainly during the Advisory Council's terms of office.

But the implementation of reports is not the only criterion by which the Council's effectiveness can be measured. It may well be the case, as Fenwick and McBride claim of other advisory bodies, that the Scottish Advisory Council brought into the public arena concepts such as "deprivation", "equality of opportunity" or "intelligence", "modifying the balance of opinion in the ideological battles which have raged around these themes."⁶⁸ The record of the main English advisory body in this regard is a well-documented one against which the Scottish Advisory Council's performance can be tested. Most writers on the subject are agreed that the Consultative Committee and the Central Advisory Council for England have borne the torch of progressive advance. Selby-Bigge, while aware of the historical background which had installed the Consultative Committee as a monitoring body, could yet admit that it had "fully justified its existence and proved its value by a series of some thirteen admirable reports".⁶⁹ Dent shows wholehearted approval of the pre-World War II reports of the Consultative Committee,⁷⁰ and in Simon's detailed and well-researched account of correspondence and debates between the Board and the Committee between the wars, the writer does not conceal his approval of the reports of the advisory body, regarding the Board as a bastion of reaction.⁷¹ Corbett's analysis of the major educational reports for England, written after the Plowden Committee had reported, commends the liberal outlook of the post-World War II Central Advisory Council.⁷² There is, however, no extensive literature reviewing the underlying educational philosophy of the Advisory Council reports, nor are there any sustained attempts to assess their impact over the long term on Scottish educational policy. Gray,

McPherson and Raffe certainly regard the 1947 report "Secondary Education" as ahead of its time,⁷³ and argue that it exerted an influence on future events, but no other writers on Scottish educational policy have paid much attention to the origins, themes, or pervasive influences of reports of the Advisory Council. Taking the view that educational advance in Britain tends to be incremental and gradual, an attempt is made in chapter 4 of this thesis to trace the origins of the intellectual strains which permeated the thinking of the wartime Council and informed their reports.

In addition to suggesting that the reports of the principal advisory body in England might have been used constructively by the central authority to promote discussion leading to future official action, Fenwick and McBride also discern a darker purpose in the English department's responses to reports. They note that supplying committees with remits might well have served the purpose of "provid/ing/ government with the opportunity to delay decisions on new policy while appearing to take action",⁷⁴ or, a few degrees less cynically, "provide time in which to create a climate more receptive to initiatives that it wish/ed/ to take".⁷⁵ Even to begin to apply such suggestions to the SED's relations with the Scottish Advisory Council begs some fundamental questions regarding the position of the Scottish Department in the context of the government of education in the UK as a whole. Responsible to the Parliament of the UK, the extent to which Scottish ministers and Scottish departments are free to pursue specifically Scottish policies is a matter which in its entirety is beyond the scope of this thesis. The concept of "parallel advance", however, is one that cannot be ignored, and in the various analyses of SED/Advisory Council relations in this thesis, some suggestions are offered as to the constraints applied by Whitehall on Scottish educational affairs. The tentative suggestion is also made that during the course of the twentieth century, and increasingly since the second World War, Scottish and English educational policy have been more closely aligned than the co-existence of structurally independent education departments, and the continuing assertion of a strong Scottish tradition, might imply.⁷⁶

The internal dynamics of committees, though, figures more prominently in this study. Corbett argues that committees of enquiry, by virtue of their being free from day to day occupational pressures, have been uniquely constituted to "stimulate the long-term thinking without which reform is shakily based".⁷⁷ In spite of, or perhaps because of, this inbuilt advantage, she notes that these committees have frequently been "slow to reach conclusions, laboured in style".⁷⁸ And indeed, many of the reports of the Consultative Committee and the Central Advisory Councils have extended to full book length, and have taken up to five years to produce. Small wonder then, that in seeking a speedy response to particular questions of the Scottish Advisory Council in 1943 Tom Johnston as Secretary of State requested reports by a particular date, adding that he did not necessarily expect "full-dress reports from the Council on the scale of the Spens Report".⁷⁹

This action of Johnston's was, however, exceptional, and the Advisory Council, when given the opportunity to do so showed only marginally greater urgency in producing reports than did its English counterpart. The allegedly stress-free environment in which committee work took place was also an arena in which individuals could co-operate and compete with each other in pursuing their objectives. Two studies, that of Joan Simon showing how the Spens Committee came to its conclusions on a single code for post-primary schools,⁸⁰ and Farquharson's analytic description of the work of the Scottish Working Party which produced the Memorandum on Primary Education,⁸¹ are generally informative, suggesting that the atmosphere in committee was not always as "other worldly" as Corbett implies. The most important debates within the Advisory Committee were no less stimulating than those reported by Simon and Farquharson, and they show how individual members in pursuit of personal or group interests exerted a powerful influence both within the Council and in the wider policy making community.

While debates within the Council are frequently referred to, the main purpose of this thesis is not primarily to provide a montage of minutes of Advisory Council meetings,

but to give an account of the Council's role in Scottish educational policy making. Within this account, certain themes prevail. There is that of the development of secondary education, a matter which gave rise to sharply divergent points of view between the Advisory Council and the SED, and contributed to soured relations between the two bodies. Changing working relations between the two, and the implications of the structural position of the Advisory Council *vis-a-vis* the Department are also recurring issues. Looking to the world of education beyond the narrow interface of Council and Department, an attempt is made to trace the intellectual origins of Advisory Council reports, and to give an indication as to the significance of reports for Scottish educational policy. The presence of Westminster, and contemporary developments in English education are referred to where they impress themselves on Scottish policy decisions, and, since the policy process is ultimately dependent on the efforts of individuals to see their ideas translated into practice, attention is paid to personal contributions of those most effective in carrying their ideas into the policy process.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS

There are 10 chapters in this thesis, followed by a "Discussion". Chapter 1 refers to the period from the beginning of the twentieth century to 1918, identifying the sources of pressure for the creation of a national advisory council on education and describing governmental responses to the several appeals to establish such a council. It notes that the Scotch Education Department consistently opposed suggestions for the creation of a statutorily-appointed policy-making body, but that it was obliged to give way when proposals for a council came to be regarded as integral to the programme of "Reconstruction" that Lloyd George's government had come to accept in principle as necessary for the post-war period. Towards the end of the chapter there is a brief account of how the SED attempted, unsuccessfully, to have the council constituted as a body entirely subordinate to itself.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus attention on the Advisory Council in the period 1920-39 and

on its relations with the SED in that period. These chapters trace the Council's decline in prestige subsequent to the disagreement between it and the Department over its first report and the Department's release of Circular 44. Chapter 2 sets out the background to the differing points of view of the Council and the Department, describing the existing organisation of post-primary schooling, and outlining the Advisory Council's proposals and those of the Department. The details of the dispute over Circular 44 are related in that chapter, as is the response of the Scottish educational community. In Chapter 3 the narrative is resumed with a description of the circumstances surrounding the issue of the codes of 1923, followed by an account of how the Department succeeded in imposing close control over the activities of the Council, even in the minutiae of its business. The affairs of the Council during the years of its virtual irrelevance are then referred to briefly, and, towards the end of Chapter 3, there is a short analytic comment on the relationship between the Council and the Department on the outbreak of war in 1939.

The Advisory Council did not sit in the early years of the war, and it was only reconstituted in late 1942 to make a contribution to post-war "Reconstruction". Chapter 4 refers to some of the ideological movements that developed in the 1930s and produced a climate of opinion which, it is argued, impressed itself on central government and resulted in moves for "Reconstruction" for the post-war period. Contemporary works on social and educational policy are discussed, and the existence of two distinct schools of educational reform in Scotland are postulated, one advocating that the existing structure be swept away and replaced by a more "democratic" one, the other favouring gradualist reform based on the existing structure. The main function of Chapter 4 is to draw attention to the ideologies which prompted appeals for educational reform in Scotland, and on which the Advisory Council drew for its most radical reports.

Chapters 5 and 6 concentrate on the events which led to the reconstitution of the Council in 1942, and on the wartime Council's internal organisation and its procedures

for dealing with remits. Chapter 5 describes the parts played by Scottish MPs and the professional interest groups in urging that the Department should give evidence of a commitment to reform. It also gives details of the SED's proposed strategy for reform, and goes on to describe the extraordinary events which threatened that strategy and led to the Secretary of the Department requesting of Tom Johnston as Secretary of State, that the Advisory Council be recalled. Johnston's personal involvement in reconstituting the Council and in its early affairs is recounted. In Chapter 6 the work of the various committees of the Council is related, showing the contributions made by influential committee members, and indicating how the committees stood in relation to the full Council.

The concluding pages of Chapter 6 referring to the committee of the Council which was responsible for the report "Secondary Education" are expanded to a fully-developed case study in Chapter 7. This is done to illustrate in detail how one of the four major committees came to its conclusions on its most important recommendations, and to show how it dealt with contemporary problems and controversies in education in its internal discussions. Chapter 7 can also be regarded as complementary to the account in Chapter 2 of the proceedings of the sub-committee on the organisation of day schools. The deliberations of both of these committees of the Council are relevant to discussions on what many still regard as a critical educational issue, the development of secondary education in the twentieth century. The specific topics dealt with in Chapter 7 are the organisation of secondary education, examinations and certificates, and curriculum and methodology.

By way of contrast with Chapter 7, which concentrates on only one committee of the wartime Council, Chapter 8 is an analytic overview of all of that Council's reports. It argues that taken together, these reports represent a comprehensive programme for (1) the expansion and more equal provision of education; (2) a devolved advisory structure to assist in the management of expansion; (3) the upgrading of the teaching profession; and (4) a more "progressive" attitude to the curriculum and to the

methodology of teaching.

Formal responses to the reports of the sixth Council, the wartime Council, are discussed in Chapter 9. The chapter is divided into a number of sections, each dealing with either a stage in Government's strategy of response, or, in the case of the major reports, how each was dealt with individually over a number of years. There is fuller discussion of the Department's protracted responses to the later reports than its prompt treatment of the early ones, and a considerable portion of the chapter is given over to the fate of the report "Secondary Education". This is done for two reasons: because the report itself is a challenging document of acknowledged importance in thinking on secondary education in Scotland; and because the Department regarded the report as sensitive enough to require the appointment of an office committee to analyse its recommendations. This latter response was quite unprecedented.

Chapter 10 completes the chronicle of the Advisory Council, referring to the seventh and eighth Councils, which sat from 1947 to 1951 and 1957 to 1961. The seventh Council's remit on further education is given fuller treatment than others dealt with in the chapter. The remit was regarded by William McClelland, the Chairman of the seventh Council, as "the most troublesome"⁸² he had dealt with in his experience of the Council, and it is argued in the chapter that the Council's failure to deal with the remit to the satisfaction of the Department contributed to the belief among civil servants that the Council had outlived its usefulness. Indeed, the Council may well not have been reconstituted after 1951 had it not been for ministerial pressure brought to bear on the Department between 1951 and 1957, and Chapter 10 contains an account of how the eighth Council was eventually convened, but supplied with very narrow remits.

In the "Discussion", some brief remarks are made on the structures of advice created to replace the Advisory Council, and on the reasons expressed for their establishment. As the title of the concluding section implies, however, no last word on the Advisory

Council is offered. It was brought into existence for a number of different reasons, and by the time that it was dispensed with many of the original reasons for the establishment of the Council had long since disappeared. But there is still a need for the central Department to take advice from those with whom it must co-operate in maintaining the public education service, and in the "Discussion", while no ready solution to the problem of consultation is proffered, the weaknesses and strengths of the model of the Advisory Council are reviewed.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. 8 & 9 Geo 5, Ch 48, Section 20.
2. Scottish Education Department (Advisory Council) Order in Council, 1920.
3. Education (Scotland) Act, 1946. 9 & 10 Geo 6, Ch 72, Section 68.
4. Throughout the thesis, the term "the Act" means the Education (Scotland) Act of the year indicated. Where acts other than Education Acts or Education Acts referring to England and Wales are quoted, this is made explicit in the text.
5. SED (1923) Report of the Advisory Council to the Scottish Education Department on the General Organisation of Day Schools and of Continuation Schools and Classes; HMSO, Edinburgh.
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Chapter 1

Proposals for an advisory council

Although there had been towards the end of the nineteenth century tentative proposals¹ for the creation of a body representative of parties involved in education either to replace or advise the Committee of the Privy Council, "My Lords", which nominally exercised control over education in Scotland, there was no concerted "Advisory Council lobby" until after the Consultative Committee had been set up in England as an outcome of the Board of Education Act of 1899². When, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, pressure for the reform of the central administration of education grew, it did so in bouts of activity, and from three main sources: from Scottish Liberal politicians, who were in opposition until 1906; from the larger School Boards; and eventually from the teachers themselves. Radical Liberals in Scotland, inspired by the reforming zeal of that party in the first years of the twentieth century³, proposed the establishment of a national advisory council as part of their scheme for the reform of local administration; the larger School Boards later took up the possibility of just such a council as a means by which their own representation at the centre might be strengthened; and, towards the end of the Great War, the teachers in the course of asserting their professionalism, supported moves for the constitution of a council. Throughout the campaign for reform, the issue of a national advisory council was associated either with moves to have larger areas of local administration, or as a device to act as a check on the Department's alleged autocracy and remoteness from Scotland, its being situated in Dover House, Whitehall.⁴ Frequently, both concern about the efficiency of units of local administration, and the Department's locus, figured as contentious points in arguments in support of proposals for some sort of committee or council to be inserted at a high level in the structure of governance of Scottish education.

Radical Liberal interest in the matter was publicly launched by the MP, Munro Ferguson, in a speech to his constituents in Leith, early in 1903,⁵ but the inspiration for that speech seemed to derive from "a very long conference"⁶ conducted under the auspices of the Liberal League. As a result of this conference, Munro Ferguson, Professor Henry Jones, and C M Douglas, Liberal member for N W Lanarkshire, began a series of speeches advocating closer co-ordination between primary and secondary schools. They proposed that School Boards or their successors be reduced in number and augmented in power to require of each responsibility for secondary as well as primary education. They regarded the existence of small School Boards which were not charged with oversight of secondary education as inadequate units to articulate the educational stages of the public system. The second element of the argument was that the central authority, the SED, must be made more representative of "the Scottish people and the best educational experience"⁷ and to that end, the supreme governing body should act on the advice of "an Advisory Committee consisting of men representing the best educational experience of Scotland".⁸ This message was repeated across Scotland in the spring of 1903 when it was expected that a new Education Bill would be introduced that year.

In addition to making public speeches, Douglas and Jones produced a pamphlet "Scottish Education Reform" prefaced by R B (later Lord) Haldane.⁹ The main thrust of their pamphlet was that public discontent stemmed from arrangements for the administration of secondary education, that secondary schools, which were administered by Secondary Committees based on the county, were not well co-ordinated with lower level schools administered by local School Boards. They declared that "The secondary schools do not, either in themselves or in their relation to primary and higher institutions, form parts of a coherent system".¹⁰ Concerning the proposed advisory council, the justification offered for it echoed that of the reported speeches - "The control exercised by the Department has become more and more detailed and minute in recent years, It is the natural outcome of an active and

energetic official authority on the one hand, and of the weakness of some of the local authorities on the other".¹¹ More clearly than in addresses from the platform, the pamphlet set out the composition of the proposed council, and outlined its functions. The formula advanced by Douglas and Jones was that a pluralistic National Council should be set up, bringing together both nominated and representative members of interest groups, with the Vice-President of the Scottish Education Department as its president.¹² On this Council "Representatives elected by the Chairmen of the District and City School Boards from amongst the members of these boards"¹³ should constitute at least a majority of the whole Council. While emphasising that the Council should not touch the authority of the Department, Douglas and Jones proposed that it should be appointed by statute and that it should take a participatory interest in the work of the Department.

But they were somewhat vague as to where its authority should start and end. At a conference held on 30th March in the Liberal Club, Glasgow, one speaker expressed his view that "He did not think it would be desirable to have a national council convened who (sic) would merely give forth vapour. It should not be a mere debating society. A national council without funds, with the most superb views on education, fighting pull-devil-pull-baker with an Education Department having all the cash, would not be an effective body".¹⁴ Doubtless, the exact terms of a Council's role would have been included in a draft clause of an Education Bill, had the Conservatives introduced a Scottish Bill to match the most recent Acts applying to England, but in the event, such a Bill did not appear,¹⁵ and no further clarification of the council's powers seemed to be of immediate necessity.

In 1904, however, while the Conservatives were still in power, an Education Bill for Scotland was drawn up, and Graham Murray, Secretary for Scotland, introduced it as a measure designed to reorganise the administration of education in larger units, roughly equivalent to "districts" of counties in terms of population. Rather than have a national advisory council as a means of improving communications between the

central Department and the local authorities, Murray's Bill contemplated Provincial Councils made up of representatives of the local interest groups and on which local authority representatives would hold a clear majority. As described by him

The function of these Councils is to deal with any matter referred to them by the Department, particularly with the adequacy or inadequacy of the provision made for the higher education of the population within any district, the admission or exclusion of institutions and schools to or from participation in the education fund, the qualifications of the teachers to be employed in the institutions and the curriculum of individual schools. They are to have the absolute power of making representations to the Department with reference to the educational interests of their provinces.¹⁶

Clearly, these Provincial Councils would have no right of initiative regarding the formulation of national policies, but in having direct access to the Department as the sole representatives of their Provinces, they would be influential in reflecting local concerns. But after its second reading, this Bill was dropped, only to be reintroduced in 1905, containing the same provisions regarding Provincial Advisory Councils as had its predecessor. In spite of the confidence of its sponsors, and of the educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), the main teachers' association, that the Bill would be carried to bring larger administrative areas into effect, the proposed reform of 1905 also foundered, mainly through the opposition of members who disliked the Bill's threat to the continuing independence of the School Boards.

After the defeat of this Bill, the Scottish Education Reform Association was founded, a Liberal pressure-group which continued to press for the creation of district authorities and a national advisory council on education. When, however, the Liberals came to power in 1906, little attention was paid to the Scottish Education Reform Association's aims, the legislation of 1908 being, in Stocks' words "An Act which practically side-stepped the administrative problem".¹⁷ Indeed, at the earliest stage of its framing, the Bill of 1907 which became the Act of 1908, was designed as a measure that would avoid the controversy that would inevitably attach to any proposed redefinition of the administrative area. Those who had campaigned strongly for reform on these lines

thought it "unfortunate"¹⁸ that such a half-hearted Bill should be introduced, and at the Committee stage, Munro Ferguson moved the introduction of a clause to statutorily establish a Council of Education for Scotland

..... for the purposes of deliberation and consultation as to matters relating to education, including any changes proposed on the Code before its submission to Parliament, and any minutes or circulars before their issue.¹⁹

His rationale for according the Council these extensive powers derived from his claim that

It would be an expert advisory body, and would supplement the Parliamentary control, which was was not always expert.²⁰

Firm in their intention that the Bill should have an unimpeded progress through Parliament, the Government failed to support Munro Ferguson's amendment, and it was defeated by 35 votes to 10.

As this vote indicated, there was far from universal support for a national advisory council, and even among those who supported reform of the School Board system, there were some who remained unconvinced as to the merits of such a council. Writing in 1904, when the Liberal campaign was at its height, John Clarke, lecturer in education at Aberdeen University, and a keen supporter of reform of administration at the local level, was firmly of the opinion that improved liaison between the Department and the local authorities would best be achieved through the creation of larger burgh and county authorities without an additional tier in the form of a national council.²¹ With a reduced number of authorities to deal with, he argued, communication between the centre and the localities would be simplified. Given the new larger authorities to deal with, an advisory council, as Clarke saw it, would be "the pis aller".²² He saw no helpful function for a non-executive, non-elected body, on the lines projected by Douglas and Jones, mediating between the Department and large, elected local authorities: a well-balanced system of local management would

render such an advisory council superfluous. His general conclusion was that

There is only one kind of consultative or Advisory Board possible, that is one representative of the new local Burgh and County authorities.²³

All the support implied in these proposed reforms for larger areas, from Clarke, and from the Advisory Council faction, must have been gratifying to the larger School Board authorities, usually centred on the burghs and usually controlled by local Liberals, for the thrust of the reform movement was that the smaller Boards should be replaced by larger ones on the model of the existing large Boards, managing secondary, as well as primary schools in their areas. The proposals for an advisory council saw the representatives of these larger units as holding a majority on the national (or provincial) council. It is no surprise, therefore, that leading figures from the larger Boards should actively lobby support for a council, even while the "uncontroversial" 1908 Act was progressing through Parliament. Edinburgh School Board, in particular, showed a keen interest in the Bill, and debated its contents in April, 1908. The feeling among members was that the Bill "might have gone further"²⁴ regarding administrative areas, and as a follow-up to their own discussions, they called a meeting of representatives of the larger School Boards (Boards with thirteen or more members) for the 23rd of that month. At that meeting a motion in favour of larger areas for which the local Board would have responsibility for all forms of education in its area, was proposed, and carried unanimously.²⁵ Clearly, in the matter of reform, the larger Boards stood closer to the Radical Liberals than to the smaller rural Boards, the main source of opposition to the ill-fated measures. Other than make their gesture of regret that the Bill was ultra-cautious regarding administrative areas, however, the larger Boards seemed unable to make further progress in the matter.

One representative, however, Councillor Leishman of the Edinburgh School Board, took the unusual step of conveying his views on an advisory committee to Struthers, the

Secretary of the Department. Leishman repeated the well-worn option that the SED should physically remove from London to Edinburgh, or failing that, that a standing national committee should be set up.²⁶ The proposed standing advisory committee was to be made up of representatives of labour, industry, agriculture, the North of Scotland, and of the four large cities: professional educational representation was to be in the shape of a representative of the teachers; the chairman was to be an eminent university educationist;²⁷ and the Secretary of the SED and the HMCI of schools should also sit on the committee. Surprisingly, the School Boards were not mentioned by name as deserving seats on the committee, but no doubt Leishman envisaged their being among the representatives of the cities. The Committee was to meet monthly, and,

..... if properly composed and influenced doubtless by your /Struthers'/ strong personality, it would serve as a useful weapon of progress as well as a defence against Philistines.²⁸

Struthers, however, was apparently unimpressed by Leishman's rather ill-thought-out scheme, which failed to make clear precisely what role the committee might play. In a written reply he noted that

..... Three years ago or perhaps even two years ago I should certainly have been strongly opposed to anything of the nature of a Council of Education, or even a formal Consultative Committee.²⁹

He went on to say that he had relented somewhat in his opposition, explaining that the reforms in which he personally had been most interested, those relating to the pooling of funds and the provision of physical help for handicapped and necessitous children, had largely been secured. But he concluded that

..... even yet I see objections which, it seems to me, at present you do not fully realise. At all events I have not yet seen any specific proposal which I could cordially support.³⁰

Although he expressed his response in these terms, Struthers apparently did not send off this considered reply to Leishman, preferring rather to defer discussing the matter

until such time as a confidential meeting of the two men should take place.

With the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, public interest in a national council on education abated somewhat, although it did not disappear entirely. By 1912, however, the proselytising initiative had passed from parliamentary politicians to members of the larger School Boards, and, for the first time, to a grouping of the teaching profession, the Secondary Education Association, which looked to the interests of teachers in secondary schools. The larger School Boards, however, were more united and vociferous than the teachers in the years before the outbreak of war. The most energetic advocate from the School Boards for an advisory committee on education was the Rev Dr John Smith of Govan. As President of the Scottish School Boards Association, Smith made an appeal to the general meeting of that Association in October, 1912, to support a motion for a committee "composed of members representative of the various interests involved, and appointed for a term of years irrespective of Governmental changes." Smith's motion was carried, and was presented to the Secretary for Scotland in the form of a question in the House.³¹ The reply was disappointing to the questioner, that no such committee be constituted, nor that there should be a Committee of Enquiry on the subject. Smith's views on a committee were given fuller expression in his book "Broken Links in Scottish Education".³² In this book, he claimed that the power of the Department was exceptional, that it exercised control over every aspect of Scottish education, and owing to the almost fictional existence of "My Lords", there was little check on the Permanent Secretary of the Department. He suggested that

The Education Act of 1908 is liberally besprinkled with the magic word "Department" And this Department is as absolute an autocracy as it is possible to picture under any modern regime.³³

While acknowledging that the personal qualities of Permanent Secretaries had rendered this "autocracy" a benevolent one, he urged structural change to minimise

this dependence on the personality as opposed to the formal function of the individual appointed as Secretary. His proposed solution to the constitutional anomaly of an assertive Department apparently free from ministerial direction was that it should be replaced by a decision-making committee made up of a Minister of Education and representative Members of Parliament, acting together with

..... the Secretary of the Department, the three Chief Inspectors, and representatives of the Universities, School Boards, Provincial Committees, Technical and Agricultural Colleges, Chambers of Commerce, Secondary School Authorities, Voluntary School Managers, and the Teaching Profession.³⁴

In addition to formulating general policy before presenting it to Parliament for approval, this committee would oversee the routine work already conducted by the Department.

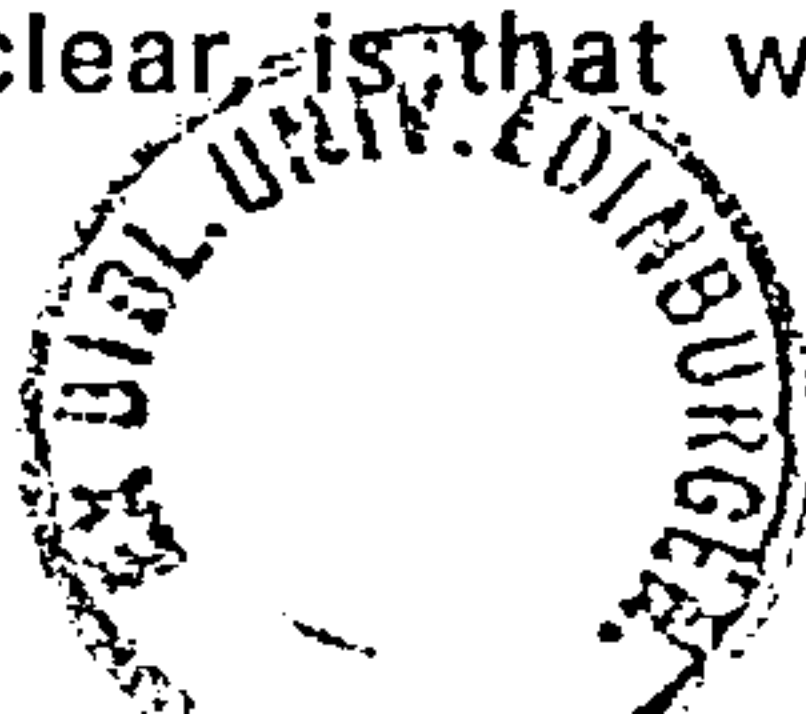
A month before Smith had sought support from the Scottish School Boards Association, agitation for an advisory council on education had come from another, and somewhat surprising, source. In an address to the Education Section of the British Association at Dundee on 9th September, Sir James Donaldson, Principal of St Andrew's University and a former President of the EIS, offered his solution to the problem of excessive power in the hands of the Department. He advocated that there should be a Minister of Education who would regularly be advised by a committee "principally or solely of a consultative character".³⁵ He cited the model of the French Conseil Supérieur which was made up of representatives of every class of teacher from university to primary school level. As an alternative to this, he also described another type of committee, this being part of a consultative machinery, "nearly allied to what takes place in Germany".³⁶ According to Donaldson

This Committee would need to be formed of men who have wide experience in teaching. It would have on it one or two members of Parliament interested in education, two or three persons who have practical experience in teaching and the training of teachers. It should have one or two heads of the Training Colleges, and it should have a few men selected from the Universities, the secondary schools and the primary schools. This also for the most part should be a consultative

body, but probably to some extent it might have executive powers, which would be strictly defined. Every Code ought to be brought before this body and discussed by it, and every publication now coming out in the name of My Lords should be the work of the Minister aided by this Education Committee.³⁷

Donaldson's scheme owed much to, and indeed echoed much of, an article by Sir Henry Craik,³⁸ written in 1885, shortly before his appointment as Secretary of the SED. Donaldson's proposed Committee was, however, more sharply defined than Craik's, but the purpose it should serve would be the same. Both Craik's and Donaldson's proposed Committees were to consist almost exclusively of those professionally involved at the various levels of education, and Craik's vagueness about bringing the centre in touch with "the localities" was replaced by an explicit concern that the centre should be advised by teachers' representatives.

Donaldson's advocacy of a council made up almost wholly of teacher/educationist members was supported by Dr J G Kerr, President of the Secondary Education Association (SEA).³⁹ Addressing the annual general meeting of the Association in late 1912, Kerr urged the creation of a central council on which the various teachers' organisations would be represented. The proposed function of the central council as envisaged by Kerr would not only be to advise the central authority, but also to make representations to local authorities "on many vital questions which on all sides are springing in to being through the fiercely rapid growth of State control over the upbringing of our youth".⁴⁰ Although splendidly rhetorical, Kerr's address lacked the definition of proposed powers and composition that Donaldson's scheme had set out, but his speech was given political point, being referred to in a Parliamentary question of 12/11/12.⁴¹ The reply given that question was that in the event of teachers forming such a body, the Secretary for Scotland would be prepared to give careful consideration to any representations it might desire to make, "just as I /Secretary for Scotland/ am prepared to consider communications from existing bodies of teachers".⁴² What the reply to that question, when compared to the reply to the one prompted by Smith's speech, makes clear is that while Government in the form of the



SED was prepared to consult with self-appointed professional bodies, it would not take the positive, and highly significant, step of statutorily constituting a pluralistic council which would impinge on its own authority. Struthers' attitude to the creation of an advisory council was expressed in a note to Kerr, whose address Struthers had found "eminently sound and sane with just the touch of personal experience and conviction which gives the thing life".⁴³ Struthers indicated that he would welcome advice on educational matters from those whose professional experience qualified them to give it.

A Council of educational politicians, – no: a Council such as you have indicated, bringing to a focus the opinions of earnest thinking men in the profession and having behind it the general support of the profession, – yes. That is the thing that above all others I desire.⁴⁴

The secondary teachers' "non-statutory" proposals seemed at the end of 1912 to be finding more favour than the "statutory" proposals made by the School Boards. But there was in fact wider support for reform in the shape of some sort of monitoring committee on the activities of the SED than that of the Boards and the SEA. At the annual conference of the Scottish Societies held at Stirling on 21st June, 1913, the following resolution was passed unanimously:–

That this meeting of delegates of Scottish Societies is of opinion that the time has now come when the Scottish Education Department should be supplemented by a Scottish Council of Education representing the Universities, the teaching profession, and the various local education authorities.⁴⁵

There is no record of an official reply to the notification of the Scottish Societies' resolution, and indeed, that conference seemed to signal the end of that particular bout of agitation for a council on education, but the activity of 1912/13 served the purpose of prompting Struthers to a considered opinion on the matter. Confirming his reply to Kerr, and logically consistent with the Parliamentary replies given towards the end of 1912, Struthers set out in an undated handwritten note of 1913 his own views on a council. His analysis of the situation was that

The suggestions that have been made for the institution of an Advisory Council on Education in Scotland are of two kinds -

(1) Those which advocate the creation by Parliament of such a Council, to be composed of persons representing the various interests involved and to hold office irrespective of Government change. These suggestions in effect contemplate the supersession of the present Committee of the Privy Council by a new body;

(2) Those which aim at a non-statutory Committee composed of representatives of the various educational bodies in Scotland, which would be able to speak authoritatively on behalf of those bodies and would be available for consultation in the event of the Department wishing to submit any matter for consideration.⁴⁶

To these observations he added that the Department had made it known that they would not obstruct the creation of a voluntary committee, but that they would not contemplate a statutory one with considerable executive powers. The likelihood was that if any advance were to be made towards the constituting of an advisory council before the outbreak of the First World War, it would be on the lines proposed by the SEA rather than on those proposed by the School Boards.

In the event, there was no further active campaigning for an advisory council until 1917, by which time the situation had altered dramatically. The Great War had broken out in August, 1914, and had been welcomed as an occasion for demonstrations of patriotic fervour. In the course of 1915, however, as is explained much more fully by other writers,⁴⁷ enthusiasm for the war declined, and by 1916, that enthusiasm had come to be replaced by a deep sense of despair and disillusionment, manifested in a variety of ways. Not only was there growing conviction that the war itself was far from the glorious affair that had been welcomed, but it became clear that it would have a far-reaching effect on the structure and fabric of British society. What would be required on an armistice being declared was a restructuring of social relations and a reconstruction of the services provided by government. The forces of reform began to assert themselves in the middle years of the war,⁴⁸ and in March, 1916, H H Asquith, the Liberal Prime Minister set up a Reconstruction Committee. This Committee, while actually achieving little, set the agenda for social reform, and before

it was disbanded on the resignation of Asquith in December, 1916, it had commissioned memoranda from both the Board of Education and the SED, in which their current policies were outlined.⁴⁹ Asquith's Reconstruction Committee was replaced in February, 1917, by a similar one appointed by Lloyd George, but the new Committee did not concern itself greatly with education. The driving force behind the English Act of 1918 was H A L Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, who was appointed President of the Board of Education in December, 1916. His personal efforts eclipsed any that might have been made by a newly-appointed Ministry of Reconstruction in July, 1917, to replace the Reconstruction Committee.

The setting up of committees on Reconstruction and then a Ministry of Reconstruction, together with the appointment of Fisher with direct responsibility for the reform of education in England, provided means towards educational advance, but the substance of proposed advance had its origins not only in the statements of public figures and bodies but also in the profound changes wrought on the attitudes of ordinary people by the war itself. The traumatic effect of a conflict which left hardly a family in the country without a personal loss, and with the heightened awareness of the intrinsic value of every human life, is well documented, in poetry as well as in more journalistic accounts, but the task of Government and the new Prime Minister, Lloyd George, in responding to the mood of nationwide low morale requires to be stated. Gilbert agrees with fellow historians in noting that

For Britain 1916 was a year of disillusion and disaster /Lloyd George's/ task was to revive flagging national energies by giving the war a meaning and peace some significance other than the end of fighting. The old exultation of 1914 was dead Lloyd George understood intuitively, that the revival of national energy which victory demanded would have to be purchased. The cry for peace at any price could be countered only by the argument that the rewards for sacrifice were greater.

Thus in the two years between December 1916 and December 1918 Lloyd George presided over a national revival The men who had bought national security at the risk of their lives in war were given to understand that they would receive personal security in peace.⁵⁰

In addition to "personal security" they were also given to understand that the education provided for their children would be on a wider front and more egalitarian basis than had hitherto been the case. In the later stages of the war, there had been trade union unrest domestically, and political dissent and even revolution abroad. Harnessed to the perceived need for reconstruction was the realisation that reconstructed institutions would demand a more democratic basis and rationale.

When Struthers had submitted his memorandum to Asquith's Reconstruction Committee in 1916, his concern for educational opportunity had been expressed in terms of raising the school leaving age, revising the system of grants, and unifying the funding of education.⁵¹ The events of the later years of the war, however, and particularly the wider conception of social justice that was current, influenced the drafting of the Education Bill he was called upon to set out to complement Fisher's initiative. While his pre-war strategy of streamlining the financial and administrative aspects of education was not abandoned in the new Bill, room was also found for provisions inspired by Fisher and the "Reconstruction" movement. The climate of the times required that in the compilation of the terms of this Bill, more so than on any previous occasion, "public opinion" in the broadest sense should be taken into account. Both the teachers and the School Boards took advantage of this situation by sending deputations to H J Tennant,⁵² the Secretary for Scotland, these deputations conveying their respective group's priorities in any forthcoming legislation. In support of their deputation, the Scottish Education Reform Committee, an alliance of the teachers' groups which had been formed prior to the amalgamation of the three organisations on 22nd December, 1917, had compiled a Report which dealt with the whole field of education, and, according to Belford, "It is no exaggeration to state that the issue of that Report influenced the drafting and passing of the Scottish Education Act, 1918".⁵³ Certainly, in correspondence relating to the Bill, Struthers, and George Macdonald, the Assistant Secretary of the Department based in Edinburgh, referred to the Scottish Education Reform Committee's Report, which included among its

recommendations that a national education council should be constituted.

The inclusion of this recommendation by the teachers, and indeed, the very existence of the Scottish Education Reform Committee, may be regarded as an outcome of a process of unification of teachers' professional associations that had begun before the outbreak of the war. At the beginning of the century, each of the three groups, the Educational Institute of Scotland, the Secondary Teachers Association, and the Scottish Class Teachers' Federation, felt left at the mercy of School Boards with regard to conditions of service, salaries, and pensions.⁵⁴ Those employed by the smaller rural Boards were most vulnerable, and the need for professional solidarity among all ranks of teachers was felt acutely. In the years before the outbreak of the Great War, there was active co-operation across these three groups, and the beginnings of moves towards incorporation. Referring to the position in 1914, Belford notes

..... a quotation from an official source is revealing:- "Time and again Members of Parliament have pointed out how very unwise a thing it is that as many as three bodies of teachers should approach them on the same matter"⁵⁵

Such advice prompted moves towards the unification of the profession, a process accompanied by a new professional self-awareness among Scottish teachers, and active pursuit of the responsibility they felt they ought to be accorded in the structure of educational governance. Co-operation by the teachers' organisations resulted in the founding of the Education Reform Committee as a prelude to formal integration.

Regarding an advisory council, the largest teachers' organisation, the EIS, had been somewhat ambivalent in its attitude. The teachers' group which had taken an active interest in its promotion was the SEA, which had welcomed Donaldson's advocacy of a Council in 1912, and had endorsed it by approval of Kerr's address shortly afterwards. But the EIS had been less enthusiastic in the matter, the comment of the "Educational News", the EIS mouthpiece, on the occasion of Donaldson's speech, being

..... when Sir James /Donaldson/ girds at "My Lords" we are not wholly with him We are not convinced that the educational progress of the country would be greater under the guidance and control of an Advisory Council – composed most probably of 'spent' educational forces – than under the stimulation of an alert Department. Meanwhile in spite of Sir James, we shall wait and see.⁵⁶

Although the Institute had supported the Douglas and Jones pamphlet, praising it as "the only means of educational salvation that has appeared above the horizon",⁵⁷ and had unanimously passed a three part resolution at the Congress of 1903 including the setting up of an advisory council, their priority was the enlargement of administrative areas, and the co-ordination of primary and secondary education under the one local authority. Proposals for an advisory council were approved as a less essential part of the Liberal "package". This was made explicit in the "Educational News" comment on the Scottish Estimates debate of 1913, the judgment being that

Much can be said in favour of the establishment of an Advisory Committee It cannot be ignored however that while there are numerous and weighty arguments in favour of such a Committee or Council there are also numerous and weighty arguments to the contrary. It is possible, even probable, that, were there substituted for the present nine hundred and sixty Parish School Boards a smaller and therefore relatively stronger number of local education authorities, any pressing apparent necessity for an Advisory Committee or Council would disappear. In our opinion the matter is of relatively small moment in view of the other calls for action⁵⁸

But by the time that the profession began to speak with one voice, that of the Scottish Education Reform Committee, agreement had been reached that an advisory council should figure prominently in the advice tendered to the SED for the preparation of the Bill. Clearly, the arguments of the SEA had prevailed to the extent that if it were the case that an advisory council were to be constituted, and the School Boards were still campaigning to that end, then the teachers would be advised to enjoin on the Department a council which would reflect their professional aspirations. By August, 1916, the benefits of an advisory council were being proclaimed, a mere three months after the Reform Committee had been convened. And in the Report of the Committee, teachers' inclusion in the policy making process

was justified as part of their professional responsibility. It was a "..... clear duty of those who were actually engaged in the work of education, and who by reason of that very fact possessed an intimate knowledge of some aspects of the question which no others could have, to place their skilled and considered opinion at the disposal of the country".⁵⁹ The Report urged, therefore, the constituting of a panel made up of those possessing professional expertise, mediating between a rather remote central authority and local authorities, elected lay men and women. The function of the proposed council was to be mainly advisory, assisting the Department in the conduct of its business, except with regard to the dismissal of teachers, registration of teachers, and the conduct of the Leaving Certificate, matters in which it would wield executive power, either through sub-committees or acting as a full council. Its composition, although representing a broad range of interests, was to include a considerable teacher membership (at least one fourth). In order to ensure that the council would not be allowed to fall into abeyance, the Committee recommended that there should be at least four meetings a year. Although guarding against domination of the council by any one sectional interest group, the constitution as proposed would have inserted practising teachers as a viable internal pressure group on a statutorily appointed policy making body, which would hold regular meetings.

Work was actually begun on the Bill in May, 1917, in response to a note from the Chancellor of the Exchequer advising that a Bill rather than a Memorandum should be prepared, and by the autumn of that year preparations for a major new item of legislation were at an advanced stage. As early as June, in two long minutes⁶⁰ to Robert Munro, Tennant's successor as Secretary for Scotland, Struthers set out his own views on a council, referring mainly to the Scottish Education Reform Committee's publication and the earlier one of Douglas and Jones. In the first of these minutes he expressed some sympathy for the principle of a committee which

..... would be representative of the most enlightened opinion, focus discussion on relevant topics, and be constantly at the elbow, as it were, of the responsible Minister.⁶¹

Referring to the Report of the Scottish Education Reform Committee, however, he saw a seemingly insurmountable problem in the proposed size of the council. The Reform Committee had suggested that there be 32 members including the Secretary and other members of the Department. By Struthers' reckoning, if there were to be representation from each of the institutions of higher learning (19 according to Struthers' calculations) together with teacher and education authority representatives, the figure of 32 members would be greatly exceeded. Even had there been only 32 members, this number, as Struthers saw it, would be unduly large for the committee to work effectively. His conclusion was that

..... if the National Education Council is to be a representative body it must contain at least as many members as the total number of members now representing Scotland in the House of Commons. If it is not to be representative its decisions would clearly be quite irresponsible and would have no real weight of opinion behind them.⁶²

Apparently disappointed, he added "I can see no escape from the dilemma."⁶³ While it would seem that Struthers harboured no fundamental objection to a council which would be strictly advisory, in this, consistent with his position in 1913, he was much less in favour of the rights and powers proposed for it by the teachers' Committee. He objected to the proposal that all codes and statutory instruments should be scrutinised by the council prior to their being submitted to Parliament on the grounds that hostile reaction from the advisory council would "kill all initiative on the part of the central authority"⁶⁴ and produce educational stagnation. He commented

No Secretary would risk placing his position and his reputation at the mercy of a heterogeneous gathering of this kind, which was not his paymaster as the House of Commons is.⁶⁵

The council's potential for obstruction and consequential arrest of educational development was assumed by Struthers as a natural consequence of its being composed of representatives of bodies whose transactions with each other had not always been characterised by harmonious relations, the antipathy between teachers and School Boards being especially marked.

With regard to the rather specialised functions that the Scottish Education Reform Committee had set out, with a view to securing and enhancing the teachers' position and status, Struthers suggested that they were inappropriate. He could not agree that the council should act as a court of appeal against teachers' dismissal, that through a committee it should act as a Registration council, and that through another committee it should perform the function of an Examination Board. These "somewhat ampler powers"⁶⁶ were all dismissed by Struthers as not only undercutting the power of the Department but also rendering existing practice less efficient. To add to these anticipated anomalies regarding the council's role, practical difficulties in terms of lack of suitable accommodation and the need to provide clerical facilities and expenses for council members, were unwelcome contingencies foreseen by Struthers should a council be constituted on the lines recommended by the teachers' Committee.

In spite of all these faults and weaknesses identified by Struthers, he did not counsel outright opposition to the principle of an advisory council with strictly limited powers. If cast in the role of ally to the Department rather than a blocking and spoiling mechanism of the central authority's intentions, Struthers foresaw the council as fulfilling a useful function.

Although this crude and imperfectly developed scheme /the Reform Committee's scheme/ seems to contain no potentialities of good whatsoever, it is only right to acknowledge,, that the underlying idea has in it much that one cannot but sympathise with. The Department's hands would be strengthened, and the course of its measures made more smooth, if it were publicly known that its policy had been formally approved beforehand by enlightened educational opinion, while there are many questions in regard to which a well-thought-out expression of that opinion would be really helpful to those on whom the responsibility for directing the policy lies. Subject to proper safeguards, it might be possible to institute a council which would be genuinely advisory in its nature, and which would be under no temptation to magnify its office in such a way as to hamper the actual executive or to interfere between the duly elected educational authorities and the Minister who is answerable to Parliament.⁶⁷

One role suggested by Struthers in this minute was that the council might act as a standing advisory committee on the Leaving Certificate examination,⁶⁸ not to take an

active part in the setting or marking of papers, but to monitor and offer constructive advice on both the standards of papers and the standards of marking. Struthers' main concern, as this exemplifies, was that the advisory council should not interpose itself either as a policy initiator or independent executive body, between the Department and what he regarded as its legitimate provinces. The council's sole function would be to give advice and professional comment.

The minute concludes with Struthers' draft of a possible clause to be inserted in the Bill. The terms "To some extent /following/ the terms of the Board of Education Act of 1899"⁶⁹ are as below.

It shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council, by order, to establish a national advisory council consisting, as to not less than two-thirds, of persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education, for the purpose of –

(a) By conferring with representatives of the Department or otherwise advising the Department on any matter referred to the council by the Department;

(b) Co-operating with the Department in the selection of committees consisting of persons of special knowledge and experience whose duty it shall be to enquire into and report upon any matter referred to them by the Department;

(c) Making representations to the Department in connection with any matter of general educational interest.⁷⁰

Clause (c) indicates that at this stage, Struthers did not seem averse to allowing the advisory council the right to initiate advice, a powerful right in the policy-making process.

In his second minute as to the contents of a clause referring to an advisory council, Struthers developed some of the points made in his earlier one, but he took into account the Douglas and Jones publication as well as that of the teachers. In his minute of 12/6/17,⁷¹ the main criticism made of the Douglas and Jones pamphlet was that the authors had apparently failed to take notice of what might be the consequence of strong local authorities being brought into existence, an essential

provision of the forthcoming Bill. These stronger local authorities would have considerable autonomy, and a commensurate responsibility within their own areas. The declared intent of the Douglas and Jones pamphlet, to bring the Education Department into "vital relation"⁷² to the local authorities, would satisfactorily be brought about, as Struthers interpreted the situation once the Bill had become an Act, by the creation of larger local units of administration, a consequent reduction in their number, and the creation of an association of local authorities which would almost certainly be more representative of its members than the Association of School Boards had been. The need for an advisory council for the purposes outlined by Douglas and Jones would, therefore, be obviated. Furthermore, it could be suggested, as Struthers again suggested as he had in the previous minute, that the constituting of an advisory council drawing on both teachers' representatives and those of the local authorities, "their natural enemies",⁷³ as well as other interested parties, might turn the council into a factional arena rather than a body speaking with one voice. It would also unnecessarily complicate the advice-taking process.

Which body are we to take as really representative of the opinion of Scotland, - the Association of local authorities or the Advisory Council which contains a large non-representative element including representatives of the Department?⁷⁴

What applied to the probable two voices of the education authorities applied equally to the teachers. Struthers saw the creation of such an advisory council as giving them "two strings to their bow".⁷⁵

If they can attain their end by a favourable decision of the Advisory Council, well and good. If not, it is quite certain that they will not acquiesce in any adverse decision but will insist on what they call their professional right of making representations to the Department directly and independently of the Council.⁷⁶

Having questioned the desirability of an advisory council in these terms, Struthers then raised objections to specific aspects of the published proposals he had referred to, particularly where they related to the authority of the Minister. In his second

minute, he acknowledged that both Douglas and Jones and the teachers had described the proposed council as essentially "advisory", but he drew attention to certain sections of these texts implying powers of veto and control over the Department. Were these powers granted, he noted, the advisory council would be

.....a controlling and reviewing body which takes no responsibility for any actions but which can absolutely prevent anything being done which does not meet with its concurrence.⁷⁷

To vouchsafe such powers would, as Struthers saw it, render the council comparable to the Irish Commissioners of National Education, a body which he alleged exercised power without responsibility and was accordingly notorious for incompetence. Pursuing an earlier theme of the minute, that the Department was already in close touch with opinion in the field, he referred to the role of the Inspectorate in relaying information from the periphery to the centre. His answer to the claim that draft codes should be submitted to the council before publication was that such documents were already sent to all School Boards and Managers for comment and observation before submission to Parliament, and that consultations with recognised associations of interest groups were already held as part of Departmental procedure.

It seemed that in this minute Struthers was going to adopt a wholly negative attitude to the council. But in this communication, as in the earlier one, he found some positive merit in having an advisory body constituted, if its role were purely advisory and if it were always at the behest of the Department. While insisting that separate consultations with interest groups on matters of importance regarding their particular concerns would always be necessary, he also advised that

..... there will no doubt be a great convenience in having important questions threshed out in the first place in the Advisory Council, if for no other reason but to give each party concerned an opportunity of understanding the other's view and making clear to what extent, if any, there is divergence, and what are the issues involved in such divergence.⁷⁸

Struthers also saw some advantage in using the advisory council to investigate

specific matters referred to it by the Department, formulating detailed concrete proposals, implicitly satisfactory to the parties represented in the council, to be referred back to the Department for consideration as to their feasibility. Topics in this category suggested by Struthers were curriculum, teachers' qualifications, education and public health, and continuation classes. As Struthers saw it, the advantages deriving from the creation of a council would only be realised were the council to operate within the limits determined by its representative composition and proposed function. In the conducting of major enquiries, for instance, the advisory council would not operate as the investigating agent itself, lacking perhaps the rather specialised expertise required by a specific remit. Rather would it appoint committees of specialists, which might or might not include advisory council members. The limiting factor, in Struthers' view, was that the council would have no inbuilt mechanism to allow it to pursue a course independent of the wishes of the Department. It must not impinge on the *de facto* authority of the Department which, in theory, was constrained by the principle of Parliamentary government to be responsible, through a Minister, to Parliament as the supreme authority. Emphasising the limitations of the advisory council's power, he concluded the minute with a set of conditions for the council's constitution (see Appendix 3). These conditions laid stress on the council's advisory status, and in so doing obviated the need that it should be representative of all Scottish institutions, the factor which in the earlier minute was regarded as being prejudicial to the appointment of a committee of manageable size. Now, if the council could be presented in the role of assisting the Department towards conclusions rather than presenting it with its own considered views, there would be less need that it should represent all the institutions of the Scottish educational world.

Further elucidation of the proposed status of the council appeared in correspondence between Struthers and Macdonald, who collaborated in drafting the terms of the Bill. In a frank exchange, Struthers expressed his opinion that a national council, which was now definitely to be constituted, following the Scottish Estimates debate of August,

1917,⁷⁹ was an unnecessary layer of potential opposition to the Department's initiative. To Struthers, "Our real critics, or proper critics"⁸⁰ were the local education authorities, the teachers, and the universities, who in making representations through their own associations, confirmed the Department as the central body in educational governance, and allowed it direct access to the particular concerns of each interest group. In order that the council should not even notionally usurp the Department's centrality, Struthers proposed that it be treated as "a sort of Departmental Cabinet".⁸¹ Accepting that a council would indeed be statutorily constituted, irrespective of his own feelings on the matter, his strategy had become that of turning the council to the Department's advantage. The prime function of the council, as Struthers now envisaged it, would be to give some indication of currents of opinion on educational questions antecedent to the Department releasing these questions to individual interest groups;

My general idea is that we should carry the Council with us for what its opinion is worth in any important new measures we propose and make them as far as possible art and part in our doings, rather than leave them as a purely external body criticising our proposals ab extra.⁸²

The trick was, like a skilled judo player, to turn an opponent's strengths to your own advantage. If the advisory council could be construed as on the side of the Department rather than on that of its "proper critics", then it might serve as a useful ally rather than as a powerful opponent. As Struthers had realised, however, the Department could not debar a public body like the advisory council from criticising the Department's proposals, therefore, he concluded his minute to Macdonald,

..... if we want to prevent their being a nuisance in this way, the proper plan it seems to me is to make sure that we find something useful for them to do.⁸³

Towards the end of 1917, Struthers in London and Macdonald in Edinburgh suggested to each other wordings of the relevant clause of the Bill in order that it would meet the Department's purpose. Their efforts to strictly define the powers and status of the

Council, however, eventually proved futile, the terms of the Act emerging from the parliamentary process of amendment being somewhat vague, and presenting future interpreters of its terms problems regarding precisely where the Council's powers should begin and end. The final terms of the clause were,

It shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council by order to establish an advisory council consisting, as to not less than two-thirds of the members, of persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education, for the purpose of advising the Department on educational matters, and the Department shall take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the advisory council.⁸⁴

The provision that the council should consist as to not less than two-thirds of its membership of those qualified to represent the views of bodies interested in education was adapted from the constitution of the Consultative Committee, and was uncontentious. That the council's purpose would be that of "advising the Department on educational matters" was, however, far from the tight functional specificity that had been intended by Struthers and Macdonald in their drafts. Their intentions in successive carefully worded drafts was that the council should be denied the right to select its own remits: the terms of the Act are unclear on that point (as will be argued later). Variousy, the Secretariat's intention had been that the Council should advise " on questions on which advice may be desired", advise " on questions on which advice may be required", and to confer with the Department "..... on questions referred to them by the Department",⁸⁵ the latter being the phrasing closest to that of the Bill for the first reading. Clearly, the Department's intention in drafting this section of the clause was that the Council should on no account take the initiative in offering advice, but should only "speak when spoken to".

The draft of the Clause first presented to Parliament was, in fact, minutely detailed with regard to the functions that the proposed advisory council should fulfil. It was to confer with the Department as a preliminary to the Department laying minutes on the tables of the Houses of Parliament, and thereby soliciting parliamentary approval for

them; it would co-operate with the Department in selecting personnel for special committees appointed by, and given remits by, the Department; and it would also advise on matters referred to it by the Department. These narrowly defined roles, rendering the council entirely responsive to the demands of the Department, had been justified by Munro in his memorandum to the War Cabinet seeking permission to present the Bill. Munro's memorandum argued that a representative council had long been desired by a considerable body of opinion as a "forum for the discussion of educational questions relating to Scotland".⁸⁶ While lending support to the principle of a council, Munro expressed the hope that it would not

..... interfere with the responsibility of the Minister to Parliament, or prevent direct access to him with regard to educational questions by local authorities or indeed by any section of the community.⁸⁷

In presenting the Bill to Parliament for a first reading on 17th December, 1917, Munro again emphasised this same point, a point which in no way inhibited the general support afforded the measure, which, amid cheers, was introduced without comment. The Scottish press, however, was more eloquent on the matter. "The Glasgow Herald", like the MPs present at the first reading, approved the advisory council clause, but the "Scotsman" was more critical.

An Advisory Council is a fifth wheel. If the purpose is to control the policy of the Secretary for Scotland and his permanent advisers, the new Council will be usurping the functions of the Scottish members of Parliament, who ought to exercise this control. If it is intended, as Mr Munro stated yesterday, that the Council shall simply make suggestions, it is put in an undignified and intolerable position whenever its advice is disregarded. In either event it will be a useless irritant in the machinery of government.⁸⁸

An interval of six months was to elapse between the first reading of the Bill and a revised copy being brought before the House, and in the course of that six months opinion as to the role and status of the council moved away from general approval of the terms of its constitution as described in the first reading. Between the first and second readings of the Bill the Department had received a veritable flood of

submissions from individuals and groups throughout Scotland. While most of this correspondence referred to the creation of ad hoc education authorities as the long-awaited larger units of local administration, and to the absorption of denominational schools within the public system, a not inconsiderable number commented on the Department's proposed advisory council. The Department's own summary of submissions and tabled amendments by MPs, brought forward the main points, as below.

That the Advisory Council should have executive powers;

That the Advisory Council should have extensive powers;

It should have the right to remit itself;

It should include nominees of the education authorities;

That the SED should be reformed;

That the SED should be based in Scotland;

That the Advisory Council should have the authority to put its recommendations into being;

That a Minister of Education was needed.⁸⁹

None of these points, generally aimed at strengthening the powers of the advisory council or curtailing those of the Department, was given special prominence in the revised version of the advisory council clause in the print of the Bill referred to in the second reading in the Commons. The revised clause, in fact, rather than enhance the power of the council, merely made its relations with the Department less clear. Where in the original clause the precise tasks that the council would be called upon to perform had been specified in some detail, the new clause merely indicated that the function of the council would be that of "advising the Department on matters referred to the advisory council by the Department". In return, the Department was now to "take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the advisory council". Although now denuded of detailed description as to the areas in which it should come into play, the clause referring to the role of the council still,

significantly, retained the proviso that it could only act should the Department request its co-operation. It did not have the right, therefore, to initiate its own terms of reference, but must have them referred to it by the Department.

For many MPs at the second reading of the Bill, this was the sticking point of the clause. Introduced by Munro as a measure which would contribute to the smoother running of the educational system, he suggested that one of the early tasks of the advisory council might be to act as an indicator of public opinion and assist the Department in giving guidance to fledgling education authorities. He made the point that

It is not desirable that any local education authority, in the exercise of its extensive power, should adopt an educational scheme for its district in serious disconformity with that of its neighbours in Scotland generally.⁹⁰

Should such an eventuality occur, the Council would advise the Department as to the norm, and the Department would then take appropriate action: a harmonious arrangement for the division of labour. Clearly, Munro intended that a major role for the new advisory council would be to act as an instrument of "standardisation", bringing the centre in touch with the local and "professional" constituencies.

His sidestepping of the issue of the source of remits to the Council was not, however, ignored. Gulland, (Liberal, Dumfries burghs) repeating the point made by Smith regarding the 1908 Act,⁹¹ noted that almost every clause of the Bill contained something that either the Secretary for Scotland or the Department should do. He did not detect much evidence towards administrative devolution, and stated that he would have preferred powers of initiative to rest in other hands also. Reinforcing this point, he remarked

Even the advisory council, which I am very glad to see, is merely a body deputed by the Department to consider anything that the Department asks it to consider. It apparently has no real existence of its own and no independent authority. It is only allowed to advise on questions which are remitted. I hope in Committee the /Secretary for

Scotland/ will really be prepared to consider Amendments which will make the advisory council a little more authoritative than he suggested.⁹²

Gulland's contribution to the debate was in support of one already made by Sutherland (Liberal, Elgin Burghs), that the creation of an advisory council with no powers to set out its own programme, would merely reinforce the "autocracy" which he claimed the Department had always been, and that the creating of such a Council would be "enthroning the Department more firmly than ever".⁹³

Even among those opposed to the creation of any kind of body which might co-operate with the Department in the making of policy, there was acknowledgment that the terms of the clause were all too vague. Tennant, the former Secretary for Scotland, stated that in his judgment

..... it is the Scottish Education Department and the Secretary for Scotland who ought to be responsible for the administration of education in Scotland, and to attempt any joint responsibility would,, be absolutely futile and wrong.⁹⁴

He referred to the clause as "a pious Clause",⁹⁵ adding by way of explanation that if the Department did not want to refer matters to the council it need not do so.

At a later stage in the debate, a scathing attack on the vagueness of the clause was made by Sir Edward Parrott (Liberal, Edinburgh South). Parrott had strongly supported the creation of a council with wide powers in the Estimates debate of 1917, in line with the School Boards' proposals. His contribution to the second reading debate was in the same vein. Admitting initially that he could not ascertain whether the council was to be "the creature of the Department or a free council",⁹⁶ he argued towards the conclusion that the members of the Council, once appointed, would be "simply hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Education Department".⁹⁷ He added

I observe in the second edition of the Clause that the Department must take into consideration any advice or representation made to them by the Council. That means, of course, that the Council is not to be snubbed or ignored. For this relief, much thanks!⁹⁸

The main substance of his criticism of the clause was that rather than see the council constituted as a body with no right to act independently, he would have preferred that it should have some powers of initiative. In his criticism, he correctly guessed at the role the Department intended the Council to perform. His argument was persuasive:-

Surely if the council is competent to guide the Department at all, it ought not to be limited to the topics dictated to it by the Department, and, if it is not to have these powers, I wonder why /Munro/ put it in the Bill at all, for he can at any moment without legislative sanction call together fifteen ladies and gentlemen to do housemaid's work for his Department. If he has not changed his mind, the real reason, I think, why an advisory council of this character is to be established appears in /a/ public statement in Edinburgh "The hands of the Department would be strengthened, and the course of its measures would be made smoother, if it were publicly known that its policy had been formally approved beforehand by enlightened opinion". So then, it would appear that the function of the advisory council is to be a Departmental dug-out against a barrage of popular opinion.⁹⁹

The general thrust of Commons comments on the revised clause referring to the proposed council was that the advisory body was too weakly constituted, a generality of opinion reflected in the summary of amendments and notices laid down by MPs at the Committee stage. The Government was resolute, however, that while the School Boards' claim for a statutorily appointed council, as opposed to Struthers' preference in 1913 for a self-appointed one, had been conceded, it would not have the extensive powers claimed for it by Smith and his fellow School Board members. Nor was it to be granted the specialised executive functions wished on it by the teachers. The phrase "..... for the purpose of advising the Department on matters referred to the advisory council by the Department",¹⁰⁰ had in the view of many supporters of the Bill as well as opposing members, seemed unduly restrictive, and when the Bill was forwarded to the Lords after passing the Committee stage, the offending phrasing had been altered to read " for the purpose of advising the Department on educational matters". With this rather ambiguous wording, and the equally ambiguous "..... the Department shall take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the advisory council", the Bill passed through the House of Lords, and received the Royal Assent on 21st November, 1918. As a prescription for future action,

the advisory council clause proved quite inadequate. Its wording failed to make clear in practical terms how the council should stand in relation to the Department and the legislature with regard to the making of policy. That "It shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council by order to establish an advisory council" laid no obligation on Ministers to exercise that prerogative. The framing of the clause left it to the discretion of Ministers whether or not the advisory council should be convened. That "the Department shall take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the advisory council" could be construed as allowing the council the right to give advice or make representations without being called upon to do so, but since the Department was not required to do other than take this advice into consideration, the Department effectively became arbiter of the council's conclusions, for "take into consideration" is semantically distant from "accept" or "implement". The most generous interpretation of "take into consideration" would infer a disposition to support the council's recommendations, but equally, the letter of the law would be observed in affording the council's decisions no more than cursory perusal followed by rejection of them. In practice, a variety of responsive *devices* have been made use of, and these are referred to in succeeding chapters.

The most crucial phrase of Section 20 of the Act was that the council should be appointed "for the purpose of advising the Department on educational matters". After the second reading debate of the Bill the Government modified its position regarding the requirement that the council could only deal with matters referred to it by the Department, but the wording as amended did not unambiguously entail that the council could choose its own topics of enquiry. As the clause stood in its final form, the phrase could be interpreted as allowing the council the right to initiate advice. This was indeed the interpretation adopted by the TES, which reported that "..... its /the council's/ activities will not necessarily be confined to matters submitted to it, but extend to giving advice or making representations of its own motion".¹⁰¹ "The Scotsman" too, had taken this view of the council's powers, and certainly, if read in

isolation from the remainder of the Clause, the critical phrase would seem to afford the council the right of initiative.¹⁰² On the other hand, when considered in the context of the Department, the administrative figuration of "His Majesty in Council", having the power to establish the advisory council at its discretion, and being empowered to sit in judgment on its conclusions, the logical force of the clause as a whole is that, irrespective of detailed interpretations in isolation, the council would be ill-advised to refer matters to itself for consideration, but rely on the Department for remits.

The potential of the council as a rival to the power of the Department, however, was never seriously attempted by invocation of Section 20 of the Act. Struthers in a letter of 24th October, 1918, to Lord Balfour of Burleigh confessed that he was "personally not enamoured"¹⁰³ of the idea of an advisory council, but accepting that the establishment of some sort of national committee or council was inevitable, he had striven to ensure that it would affect the smooth running and overall authority of the Department in the governance of Scottish education as little as possible. Whether or not his efforts had been successful was soon to be demonstrated when the first advisory council was established.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Craik, H (1885) "A Minister of Education", Fortnightly Review, April, 1885. is perhaps the first of these calls, made by the man who was soon to become first Permanent Secretary of the Scotch Education Department.
2. Board of Education Act, 1899. 62 & 63 Vict, Ch 33, Section 4.
3. See Hay, J R (1975) The Origins of the Liberal Social Welfare Reforms 1906-14; Macmillan, London, which traces the origins of the reforming zeal of the Liberal Party at the beginning of the twentieth century.
4. The Secretary of the Department had his office in Dover House, Whitehall, but there was also an office in Edinburgh under George Macdonald, an Assistant Secretary from 1904 until 1918, when he became Second Secretary of the Department.
5. Munro Ferguson joined the Conservatives in 1922 and, elevated to

the peerage as Lord Novar, was Secretary for Scotland between October, 1922, and January, 1924. In this capacity he rather reluctantly authorised publication of the first report of the Advisory Council (ED 8/2, Novar to Macdonald, 27/12/22).

6. Educational News, 21/2/03, p 133.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Douglas, C M, and Jones, H (1903) Scottish Education Reform; James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow.
10. Douglas and Jones (1903), op cit; p 12.
11. Douglas and Jones (1903), op cit; p 64.
12. The Secretary for Scotland, by virtue of that rank assumed also the title of Vice-President of the Scotch Education Department, and in that capacity he was recognised as political overseer of the work of the Department.
13. Douglas and Jones (1903), op cit; pp 70-71.
14. Educational News, 4/4/03, p 226.
15. There was considerable parliamentary activity regarding the administration of education in England in the first years of the twentieth century, but no corresponding Scottish Bill was put forward until 1904.
16. Educational News, 2/4/04, p 238.
17. Stocks, J (1970) "Scotland's ad hoc Authorities, 1919-30", Studies in the Government and Control of Education; History of Education Society, Methuen and Co; p 75.
18. Educational News, 1/3/07, p 203 "The Scottish Secretary has promised to introduce another Education Bill, and has indicated certain matters which will be included in its scope The re-arrangement of administrative areas is to be left securely alone. Dr Douglas, at Dunfermline, like Mr Munro Ferguson, at Glasgow, thinks this unfortunate".
19. Educational News, 17/7/08, p 184.
20. Ibid.
21. Clarke, J (1904) Short Studies in Education in Scotland; Longmans Green and Co, London.
22. Clarke, J (1904), op cit; p 220.
23. Ibid.
24. Educational News, 24/4/08, p 455.

25. Educational News, 1/5/08, p 486.
26. ED 7/3/8, Leishman to Struthers, 6/5/08.
27. Ibid. Professor Chrystal, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh University, was suggested.
28. Ibid.
29. ED 7/3/8, Struthers to Leishman, 8/5/08.
30. Ibid.
31. ED 7/3/8, Pirie's question, Number 64, 22/10/12.
32. Smith, J (1913) Broken Links in Scottish Education; Nisbet, London.
33. Smith, J (1913), op cit; p 154.
34. Smith, J (1913), op cit; p 159.
35. Reported in Educational News, 13/9/12, but also in ED 7/3/8 "reprinted from the "St Andrew's Citizen", 14/9/12.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Craik, H (1885), "A Minister of Education" Fortnightly Review; op cit.
39. Before incorporation in 1917, there were three teachers' organisations in Scotland. In addition to the EIS, there was the Scottish Class Teachers' Federation, which represented the interests of unpromoted teachers in the non-secondary schools, and the Secondary Education Association, which drew its support from among the teachers in secondary schools.
40. ED 7/3/8, Report of Kerr's address, 2/11/12.
41. ED 7/3/8, Hogge's question, Number 12, 12/11/12.
42. Ibid.
43. ED 7/3/8, Struthers to Kerr, 4/11/12.
44. Ibid.
45. ED 7/3/8, Copy of undated note to T McKinnon Wood, Secretary for Scotland, conveying the resolution.
46. ED 7/3/8, Handwritten note, undated.
47. eg Gilbert, B B (1970) British Social Policy 1914-1939; Batsford, London. Havighurst, A F (1962) Britain in Transition: the Twentieth Century; University of Chicago Press. The background to the English Education Act of 1918 can be found in Andrews, L (1976) The Education Act 1918; RKP, London, Henley and Boston; and

- Sherington, G (1984) English Education, Social Change and War 1911-20; Manchester University Press, Manchester. See also Kazamias, A M (1966) Politics, Society and Secondary Education in England; University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
48. Marwick, A (1965) The Deluge; The Bodley Head, London, Chapter 7.
 49. Johnson, P B (1968) Land Fit for Heroes; University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London; p 13.
 50. Gilbert, B B, op cit; pp 4-5.
 51. Johnson, P B (1968), op cit; p 16.
 52. H J Tennant was Secretary for Scotland under Asquith, and was succeeded in November, 1916, by Robert Munro serving under Lloyd George.
 53. Belford, A J (1946) Centenary Handbook of the EIS; Lindsay and co, Edinburgh; p 236.
 54. The most celebrated example of teachers' mistreatment by small School Boards was "The Gartmore Dismissal Case". James A Menzies, schoolmaster at Gartmore, near Aberfoyle, for 20 years was summarily dismissed in November, 1905, after a disagreement with his School Board over the appointment of a member of staff. The School Board, made up of 2 farmers, a grocer, an insurance canvasser and "a spinster", refused to reinstate Menzies in spite of his having tendered an apology for any misunderstanding that he might have been responsible for. His case was taken up by the EIS and the national press, and there was even a question in Parliament. In addition to this public pressure, the Department also interceded on Menzies' behalf, but did not persuade the Board to change its mind. The outcome of the case was that at the election for a School Board held in the spring of 1906 a new Board was elected, and Menzies was reinstated by it.
 55. Belford, A J (1946), op cit; pp 214-5.
 56. Educational News, 13/9/12, p 800.
 57. Educational News, 28/3/03, p 253.
 58. Educational News, 8/8/13, p 704.
 59. Scottish Education Reform Committee (1917) Report; the Committee, Edinburgh.
 60. ED 14/159 and ED 14/140.
 61. ED 14/159, Struthers to Vice-President of the Department, no date.
 62. Ibid.
 63. Ibid.
 64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. The Leaving Certificate, instituted in 1888, and administered by the Department, was seen as the proper goal of secondary education as it had been organised at the turn of the century.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. ED 14/140, Struthers to Vice-President of the Department, 12/6/17.

72. Douglas and Jones (1903), op cit; p 67.

73. ED 14/140, Struthers to Vice-President of the Department, 12/6/17.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. In the Scottish Estimates debate of 8/8/17, which took place after the writing of the minutes in ED 14/159 and ED 14/140, Sir Edward Parrott, newly elected Liberal MP to Edinburgh South, made an impassioned plea for a Minister of Education and a national Advisory Council in his maiden speech. Munro, while not unsympathetic to the proposal regarding an Advisory Council, was non-committal in his reply.

80. ED 14/140, Struthers to Macdonald 23/11/17.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. 8 & 9 Geo 5, Ch 48, Section 20.

85. ED 14/140, op cit; Struthers to Macdonald 23/11/17, and Macdonald to Struthers 26/11/17.

86. ED 14/120, Munro to War Cabinet 24/11/17.

87. Ibid.

88. "Scotsman" 18/12/17.

- 89. ED 14/121.
- 90. Hansard, Commons, 26/6/18.
- 91. See p 49.
- 92. Hansard, Commons, 26/6/18.
- 93. Ibid.
- 94. Ibid.
- 95. Ibid.
- 96. Ibid.
- 97. Ibid.
- 98. Ibid.
- 99. Ibid.
- 100. Education (Scotland) Bill, 1918; Fourth Print (Second Reading).
- 101. Times Educational Supplement, 29/4/20, p 223.
- 102. "Scotsman" 23/4/20.
- 103. ED 14/130, Struthers to Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 24/10/18.

Chapter 2

The First Advisory Council and Circular 44

In addition to being a notable event in its own right, the establishment of the first Advisory Council led to an episode in the long-standing disagreement between the central authority and the Scottish educational community as to how the various levels of education should relate to each other. Almost immediately on his appointment as first Permanent Secretary of the SED in 1885, Sir Henry Craik had initiated a policy of encouraging certain schools to become distinctly "secondary". In practical terms, this meant wherever possible channeling funds into "higher class" schools, which had derived no financial benefit from the Act of 1872.¹ Craik regarded "secondary" education as different in kind from either primary or post-primary education, seeing in the demanding academic curriculum of the secondary school a type of education suited only to a minority of able pupils. Craik's great opportunity to develop a strong secondary sector made up of a limited number of prestigious higher class schools, co-existing with, but distinct from, a lower level of primary and post-primary schools, seemed to present itself in 1891 by the injection of an extra £60000 to SED funds. The "Equivalent Grant", however, could not be used in Scotland for the purpose for which it had been made, to make elementary education free, as this had already been achieved in Scotland, and Craik immediately drew up plans for the disbursement of the grant to support higher class schools. His scheme was opposed, however, by the majority of the School Boards and by the EIS, who succeeded in mobilising powerful allies for their preferred policy of distributing the extra funds more evenly across the various levels of schools. In this instance, Craik was "defeated by the power of localism",² but for the remainder of his tenure of the Secretaryship of the SED, and that of his successor, Struthers, there was continuing tension between the local authorities and the Department over policy for secondary education.

Indeed, it was the perceived need for an agreed policy on secondary education, and to a lesser extent on continued education, that prompted the Department to bring the Advisory Council together for the first time. The 1918 Act had laid an obligation on education authorities to submit for the approval of the Department, schemes outlining the proposed organisation of continuation classes for their areas, firstly for young people to the age of sixteen, and, when required, for those between sixteen and eighteen. The Advisory Council seemed an appropriately constituted body to provide model schemes acceptable to the parties who would be involved in their application. Education authorities were also obliged to submit schemes for primary and secondary education under the Act, and the Advisory Council again appeared to be a body suitably constituted to tender general advice on that subject. The proposed admission of certain non-grant-earning schools to the teachers' superannuation scheme, a matter that hitherto would have been treated as a routine item by the Department in the normal course of its business, was also referred to the first Council.

While the problems regarding continuation classes had derived directly from the terms of the 1918 Act, the need for a general reorganisation of day school organisation was occasioned by a number of factors. The Act had notionally extended the duration of schooling to the age of 15 in Scotland, but, prudently, it had not specified an appointed day for that provision coming into effect. Nor had the appointed day for the restriction of exemptions for beneficial employment been declared.³ Effectively, therefore, the years of schooling might range from just over seven to perhaps twelve or thirteen, depending on what pupils' career aspirations and suitability for post-primary education might be. Failure to specify an "appointed day" for the statutory arrangements referring to leaving and exemption ages left the situation much as it had been during the war years, a period which had witnessed an unprecedented demand for intermediate and secondary education, two of the three alternatives available to pupils who had "qualified" as having successfully completed a course of primary education.⁴ The third alternative was to take a supplementary

course.⁵

Supplementary courses were introduced by Circular 374 of 1903 as the final stage of education for the majority of pupils who would take up unskilled or semi-skilled employment in industry or agriculture. In the rural areas supplementary courses were usually conducted in primary schools, but in some urban areas, centres for these courses had been built. Conceptually, however, supplementary courses were regarded as appendages to primary education rather than as a variety of secondary education. A Merit Certificate was awarded to pupils who attended a supplementary course for not less than one year, and had satisfied HM Inspector that they had met the demands of the curriculum. That curriculum was largely an extension of the later stages of primary education, differing in that it contained some instruction, often practical instruction, in subjects relating to local crafts or industries. But by the end of the war, it was clear that these supplementary courses were not proving attractive to pupils. The Chief Inspector reporting on the Northern and Highland Divisions for the year 1919, made the point that applied throughout Scotland, that

It falls to be mentioned that while the Supplementary Courses were now clearly established as the crown of our primary school system in most areas there yet undoubtedly remain centres, urban and sometimes wholly rural, where the public conviction in their favour is not wholly established,⁶

The obverse of the unpopularity of the supplementary courses was the increasing proportion of "qualified" pupils embarking on the intermediate course. In terms of curriculum, the intermediate course was virtually indistinguishable from the first three years of the full "academic" secondary course, leading to the university or the higher professions, and in view of this, it enjoyed the prestige associated with secondary, as opposed to merely primary, education. This three year course, the successful completion of which would result in the award of the Department's Intermediate Certificate, attracted increasing numbers of pupils during the war years. Held in specialised Intermediate Schools, or in secondary schools preparing pupils for the full

Leaving Certificate, the Intermediate course experienced an increase of 23% of pupils in the period 1913-14 to 1918-19.⁷ This upward trend showed no signs of abating after the war, and both the Renfrew and Glasgow Education Authorities adopted in 1920 the strategy of limiting access to intermediate schools by means of "super"-qualifying tests.⁸ The Department was also concerned about the numbers of pupils attracted to the intermediate course, noting that in 1914, more than one half of the pupils in attendance on this course had received their primary education in the preparatory departments of intermediate or secondary schools, but that after the war the majority of pupils was being recruited from the primary schools not attached to secondary departments.⁹ This trend led to the overcrowding of particular classes, but the Department expressed its opposition to this trend in terms of "wastage", that only one in three of those embarking on the intermediate course was successful, if obtaining the Intermediate Certificate were to be regarded as the criterion of success.¹⁰

This "wastage" was caused either through pupils enrolling in the mistaken belief that the intermediate or secondary course was educationally more suitable for them than a supplementary course, that they could cope with its rigorous academic content; or alternatively, they might enrol with no intention of completing the course, merely choosing to attend a particular school to acquire the status conferred for doing so. The former was regarded by the Inspectorate as the more serious misuse of the intermediate course, resulting not only in overcrowding of classes, but also in pedagogic problems.

The presence in Intermediate Schools of a number of pupils for whom a different course would be more suitable, sometimes causes difficulties by appearing to penalise the brighter pupils, who have to keep in step with the less gifted.¹¹

Whatever objections might be made as to the increasing enrolment in secondary, and intermediate schools in particular, the "Intermediate School Movement", showed no signs of declining of its own accord after the war, being pursued most energetically in

the North East, "where the parish schools tradition is at its strongest".¹² But not only was there an apparently intolerable level of "wastage" from the intermediate course, the full secondary course, too, seemed to be attracting many who for various reasons were never to complete it, fewer than one in eight of those setting out on the course ever gaining a Leaving Certificate.¹³ Clearly, therefore, with the supplementary courses suffering from declining numbers, and the alternatives to supplementary education proving attractive to, but in their entirety beyond the academic ability of the majority attending them, the complete range of public provision beyond the primary stage was in need of review. The situation, obviously, was one demanding the most expert advice the Department could call upon, and presented itself as a suitable remit for the Advisory Council.

The order in council bringing the first Advisory Council into being was dated 22nd January, 1920.¹⁴ This order set down detailed regulations for the conduct of the Council's business, (though doing little to resolve the ambiguities of Section 20 of the 1918 Act), and listed the twelve members who would hold office until 1st November, 1924. In accordance with the Act, at least two thirds of those appointed would have to be "qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education".¹⁵ In fact, nine of the twelve members fell clearly into that category, three representing the newly-created Education Authorities, three representing the teachers, and three representing the universities and Central Institutions. Sir Arthur Rose, Chairman of Edinburgh Education Authority and a prominent businessman, Sir Henry Keith, Chairman of the Lanarkshire Education Authority, and Miss K V Bannatyne, Vice-Chairman of the Glasgow Education Authority, stood for the interests of the elected local administrators of the state system. Duncan MacGillivray, a past president of the EIS, Mary Tweedie, a future president of the Institute, and J B Clark, Headmaster of Heriot's School, Edinburgh, were appointed to represent the teachers; and for the universities and Central Institutions, the members were Principal Sir George Smith of Aberdeen University, Professor John Burnet of St Andrew's University, and Dr H F

Stockdale of Glasgow Technical College. Those representing "other interests" were Sir John Cowan, an industrialist in his seventies, Owen Coyle, a Trade Unionist, and Joseph Duncan, the Honorary Secretary of the Scottish Farm Servants Union, who was also involved with the development of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in Scotland.

From the first, the affairs of the newly-appointed Council were closely regulated by Struthers. At his direction, the first meeting was to be "of a more or less formal kind",¹⁶ addressed by the Secretary for Scotland, and chaired initially by Struthers himself. He had already selected the remits, and ordered that the three major ones be dealt with not by the Council itself, but by Special Sub-Committees under Section 6 of the Order in Council. In a note to F J Armstrong, a senior clerk of the Department, who was to act as Secretary to the Advisory Council, Struthers set out the agenda for the first meeting, and from the chair, emphasised the terms of the relationship between the Department and the Council, that "Relations between the Department and the Council /were/ to be of a confidential nature", and that "All references and recommendations /should/ be treated as strictly confidential".¹⁷ Munro, the Secretary for Scotland, confirmed the confidentiality of relations by stating in his address that the members of the Council should regard themselves as "co-workers with the Department in the cause of education".¹⁸

The formalities of this first meeting, which took place at the Edinburgh office of the SED, giving some credence to the idea that the Council should draw the Department closer to Scottish opinion, were supplemented by items of necessary business in launching the Council on its course. Sir Arthur Rose was unanimously elected first Chairman of the Council, and it was accepted that Special Sub-Committees as permitted by the establishing Order in Council,¹⁹ should be set up. Each of these Special Sub-Committees, working independently of each other, was to make recommendations on one of three topics, continuation classes in urban areas, continuation classes in rural areas, and general organisation of day schools. On

reaching their conclusions they would then submit their recommendations for the approval of the full Advisory Council before forwarding them to the Department. The matter of the admission of certain schools to the superannuation scheme could rapidly be dealt with by the Council as a whole, and the composition of the Sub-Committees, which would include non-Council members, was debated. The suggestions and nominations offered, many of which emanated from the SED, were ratified by an order issued on 1st July.

The composition of each of these Sub-Committees was broadly similar, containing three to five members of the Council, together with 10-12 other expert appointees, including members of the Inspectorate. The Sub-Committee on Day Schools Organisation contained three Inspectors, that on Urban Continuation Classes two, as did that on Rural Continuation Classes. On each of these Sub-Committees, one of the HMIs appointed acted as Secretary. Thus set on its way, the Council was congratulated by the "Scotsman" as embodying the most recent chapter in "The history of the long struggle for the establishment of an Advisory Council to the Scottish Education Department, to replace the rather shadowy body known as "My Lords".²⁰ The Scottish Educational Journal (SEJ),²¹ however, was more cautious and restrained in its comments, noting that no procedures had been agreed to resolve possible "deadlocks" between the Council and the Department, but in its determination to be optimistic, the teachers' journal suggested that

..... given a reasonable degree of savoir faire on the part of the Department and a like amount of resoluteness on the part of the Council, deadlocks should be with ease avoided.²²

In spite of this declared optimism, the SEJ would clearly have preferred that "savoir faire" and "resoluteness" might have been rendered unnecessary by the inclusion of some sort of formal mechanism for ensuring that the Council's recommendations be translated into practice.

The Sub-Committees, as had been intended by the terms of the Order in Council,

worked mainly independently of each other through 1920 and into 1921. By way of information, each of the Sub-Committees was sent a statement of the Department's current thinking on each of the issues forming remits. The covering note, the same in each case, pointed out that the memorandum enclosed had originally been prepared for the internal use of the SED, and had been appended for the information of the Sub-Committee "with no intention of limiting their initiative", but to "assist their deliberations by bringing the main points at issue together in a connected form".²³ Each of these memoranda contained a well-developed outline of the Department's own proposals. With regard to urban and rural continuation classes, the education to be provided would have a vocational orientation, but music, physical education exercises, and social recreation would also appear in the curriculum. In the burghs and cities there would be largely evening teaching in the first few years of the scheme, but in the rural areas, the varying demands of labour during the agricultural year would allow spells of concentrated day-time teaching, particularly for those engaged in farming, but also for artisans. Geographical conditions and local circumstances, however, would eventually determine the conditions of attendance. Taking the appropriate memorandum as the starting point of their respective deliberations, the Sub-Committees on continuation classes set about their task of collecting evidence and preparing drafts of reports. Both of these sub-committees held a short series of meetings, in the course of which, some expert witnesses were interviewed. The process of collecting evidence was followed by the preparation of drafts by the Sub-Committees' Secretaries (HMI's) in the spring of 1921. These drafts, when completed, followed very closely the lines of the SED memoranda.

But the work of the Sub-Committee set up to review the organisation of day schools did not proceed so smoothly. This Sub-Committee adopted a much more elaborate internal structure, splitting into Sub-Sub-Committees and "groups", and eventually it produced as a draft, a scheme for the reorganisation of the post-primary sector markedly different from that of the Department's memorandum.²⁴ The essential

difference between the Department and the Sub-Committee on this matter was that while the Department saw fit to regard primary education and secondary education as different in kind, the Sub-Committee looked upon primary, intermediate, and secondary education as successive stages in the one process. Their eventual prescription, this being their outlook, was that the unitary process of education ought to be divided into three stages, corresponding to the age ranges 5-12, 12-15, and 15-18. All pupils would complete the first two stages, the second of which would contain a common core curriculum supplemented by course options according to pupils' aptitudes. The most academic of the courses at the intermediate stage would lead on naturally to the Leaving Certificate. With regard to certification, the Sub-Committee's draft report recommended that the Intermediate Certificate be awarded on the successful completion of any one of five alternative curricula, by the Department, on a national standard.

All of this was in direct contrast to the Department's outline memorandum, which conceptualised the sectors of education in terms of differences of kind rather than a series of successive stages. What the Department intended was that there should be only two courses of education in full time day school, primary education to the age of 15 leading to a Primary School Leaving Certificate, and secondary education leading on to the Leaving Certificate. Effectively, education authorities would take responsibility for most aspects of the primary sector, while the Department would concern itself mainly with the secondary sector. The implications of this, as set out in the memorandum were that the Primary School Leaving Certificate would be awarded by the head teacher, and checked by HMI – "a real distinction and not awarded as a mere matter of course", a record would be kept for every pupil in both primary and secondary schools, to be presented on application on early leaving, and that Intermediate Schools as such would no longer be needed.²⁵ The difference between the Department's stance and that of the Sub-Committee, was such that only the sort of "deadlock" that "should have been avoided" was inevitable.

In coming to its conclusions, the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools had taken more time and experienced more internal wrangling than either of the other Sub-Committees. At the first meeting of the full Sub-Committee, Professor Burnet was elected as convener, an indication at an early stage as to where the members' sympathies lay in the matter of schools organisation. In his book "Higher Education and the War"²⁶ published in 1917, Burnet had attacked German education for its emphasis on collective efficiency, a "top - down" principle which subordinated personal opportunity to national efficiency, and one that Struthers had been accused of favouring. MacGillivray, although less doctrinally humanistic than Burnet, was also a supporter of the individual's rights in education, and in the course of events he came to set himself against the Department's policy. There was, however, also within the Sub-Committee, support for the Department's preferred strategy for post-primary organisation.

At the first full meeting of the Sub-Committee, however, no serious differences of opinion were expressed. Broad problems of organisation were discussed briefly, and three Sub-Sub-Committees were appointed "in view of the different conditions in urban and rural areas".²⁷ HMCIs Smith and Jamieson were nominated and appointed as conveners of the Sub-Sub-Committees dealing with the Highlands and North, and the Lowlands and rural areas, respectively, and McGillivray was elected to convene the Sub-Sub-Committee considering the problems of urban areas. Of greatest importance among the broad questions that had been discussed were the nomenclature to be adopted for the various types of schools, their respective curricula, and a policy on certification. These questions were set to each of the Sub-Sub-Committees to discuss and report back on independently of each other.²⁸

At the second meeting of the Sub-Committee, the responses of the three smaller groups were compared and discussed.²⁹ Certain contradictions emerged, particularly in the matter of the nomenclature of schools, and schools' relations to each other. The Department's stated intention that Intermediate Schools as such should disappear, was

clearly a vexatious point. Jamieson's Sub-Sub-Committee had resolved

..... by a majority, that there should be two main types of schools
 (a) Primary, providing for pupils up to the age of 15, and (b) Secondary,
 taking pupils up to the age of at least seventeen;³⁰

Smith's group had also apparently concurred with the Department's proposal, but the resolution approved by the full Sub-Committee was that the nomenclature of the 1918 Act, referring to the continuing existence of Intermediate education, should be retained.³¹ This decision, although inconsistent with the conclusion of two of the three Sub-Sub-Committees, harmonised with broad support at that meeting for the Intermediate Certificate, to be conducted either on the existing basis, or as an internally assessed school examination. After a discussion on curricula, it was agreed that the three conveners, Smith, Jamieson and MacGillivray should work together as a "group" to outline possible intermediate curricula.

In the meantime, however, it had become apparent that certain unresolved aspects of the 1918 Act were impinging on the deliberations of the various Sub-Committees. Uncertainty about quite when the school leaving age would be raised, or whether continuation classes would be made compulsory in the foreseeable future, was making it difficult for the Sub-Committees to offer detailed proposals. The status of any proposed Intermediate Certificate was a matter dependent on whether it would be taken by a majority or a minority of pupils aged 15. The standard at which it would be set would depend on this, and whether it was to be regarded as an educational terminus or as a preliminary to continuation class work, or perhaps as an alternative to compulsion to attend continuation classes. Until positive guidance should be given on these statutory matters, the Council's plans could only be made on the basis of supposition or assumption. These difficulties were given prominence at a joint meeting held on 8/10/20 between MacGillivray's Sub-Sub-Committee and Stockwell's Sub-Committee on the organisation of urban continuation classes.³² From this meeting a letter was sent to the Department, seeking guidance on these matters.³³

Struthers' reply did little to encourage certainty of planning on the part of the Council. Struthers expressed ignorance of any impending arrangements regarding "appointed days", but suggested that "no immediate action in the direction indicated is probable".³⁴

Another problem for the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools resulted from the working sessions of Smith, Jamieson, and MacGillivray in their attempts to devise curricula for the intermediate stage. This "group" reported that although they had succeeded in drawing up six different curricula with a common core, they did not believe that these curricula were equal in content or difficulty. They were of the opinion, however, that successful completion of any one of these courses should entitle the successful pupil to a certificate. The Sub-Committee as a whole was uncomfortable about these conclusions, and there was protracted debate at the meeting of the Sub-Committee on 15th December.³⁵ The point at issue was whether the successful completion of admittedly unequal curricula should result in the award of one and the same certificate, or whether different certificates should attest to the completion of different courses. The matter went to a vote, with seven members favouring two types of certificate and six favouring one. But it was not to be left at that. Those who had pressed most strongly for a unified form of intermediate schooling, MacGillivray, the EIS "faction", and their supporters on the Sub-Committee, succeeded in securing agreement that "In view of the result of the vote, the question of curricula for the proposed certificates should be re-considered by the Conveners".³⁶ At subsequent meetings of the curriculum "group", modifications were made to the proposed alternative curricula, reducing them from six to five, and a more uniform core to each of the five curricula was drawn up, particularly applying in the first two years of the three years of the course. Arrangements thus amended, the full Sub-Committee at its meeting of 23/3/21 saw fit to approve the alternative curricula and to rescind the earlier decision in favour of two certificates.³⁷ The Sub-Committee's new position was that only one certificate should signify the

completion of the intermediate stage.

Having apparently resolved the problem of alternative curricula in this way, it then became possible for the Sub-Committee to approve a draft of their report to be submitted to the Advisory Council. Final consideration of the draft report took place at a meeting of the Sub-Committee on 5th April, the salient points being:-

(a) Approval of three grades of education – Primary, Intermediate, and Secondary.

(b) The Intermediate curriculum should consist of a common core of subjects for the first two years, and that widely differentiated courses should not be fully operative until the third year of the course.

(c) Five alternative curricula recommended for the Intermediate school.

(d) The Intermediate Certificate should be awarded on a national standard, providing certification of equal standing for all types of curricula and all schools.³⁸

This was the draft report which was eventually presented to the full Advisory Council at its meeting of 26th October. Its recommendations were accepted in principle by the Council at that meeting, but two recommendations, "Conditions of Transfer" and "The Primary Curriculum" were referred back to the Sub-Committee for further consideration. The item "Conditions of Transfer" was to be reconsidered as there were yet doubts among Council members as to whether proposals for transfer from the primary school should be recommended on a national or on a local standard. The hope was expressed that "The views of the Department on this point might be obtained".³⁹ The second item referred back to the Sub-Committee was that concerning the curriculum of pupils who would not complete the full three years course beyond the "qualifying" stage. The remit to the Council had assumed a statutory leaving age of 15, and the Sub-Committee had made its main recommendations on that assumption. It had become increasingly clear, however, in the course of 1921, that the "appointed day" was far from imminent, and there was a

need to prescribe a curriculum for early leavers. The draft report made the point that

In the interests,, of the majority who cannot complete any one of the courses which we have outlined, we think it would be expedient that some competent body should take into consideration the question of the courses to be followed by the very large number of pupils who will remain at school for only two years, or a shorter period, after they reach the stage of attainment specified in Article 29(1) of the Code /the "qualifying" stage/.⁴⁰

At the meeting, the explanation was given that this paragraph "had been put in as an afterthought when it was realised that the proposed extension of the school leaving age might be seriously delayed".⁴¹ Considering the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools to be the most "competent" body to recommend on an attenuated curriculum, the Council had no hesitation in referring the topic back to its own Sub-Committee.

Clearly, the Council felt by this time that it had been asked to make recommendations on uncertain premises - "appointed days" and the Department's own intentions regarding policy were by no means set out in unambiguous terms. The earlier request for co-operation from Struthers (the letter from the the joint meeting of Stockdale's Sub-Committee and MacGillivray's Sub-Sub-Committee) had resulted in minimal assistance, and the view of the Council was that it now required more positive information if it was to take its deliberations further. Therefore, in sending the draft reports to the Department, Rose requested a meeting with Munro, the Minister responsible, and noted that as presented, the draft reports were "interim reports". "They cannot be considered as final because in effect they do not really fill the remit *in toto* in any individual case".⁴² Struthers' response to Rose's letter was to make arrangements for a meeting with Munro, as requested, and to come to some firm decisions as to how his own developing policy for the reorganisation of the post-primary sector might be brought into play.

By the autumn of 1921, there was, in fact, a need for firm decisions. Although the senior Secretariat of the Department had formally remained at a distance from the

work of the Advisory Council and its Sub-Committees, the contents of the draft reports when forwarded in October, came as no surprise to them. What the report of the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools did provoke, however, was the realisation that the Advisory Council was on the point of committing itself to proposals for the reorganisation of post-primary education directly opposed to those towards which the Department had been moving for some time. The presence of HMIs on the Sub-Committees of the Council as well as Armstrong as Secretary, had ensured a steady flow of information to their Civil Service superiors, and Council members had, during the course of 1920 and 1921, shown no reluctance to confide in the Department.⁴³ The holding of Council meetings in the Edinburgh office of the SED made possible impromptu communication between the two bodies, and the substance of that communication indicated that the Council was not moving in the direction that the Department would have wished, regarding the organisation of day schools.

The Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools had taken at its word the directive of the memorandum outlining the Department's position (Memorandum of 1/7/20) that the Department had "no intention of limiting their initiative". The very first proposals of the Sub-Committee rejected the Department's scheme, and recommended another approach. The Sub-Committee's point of view was passed on to Macdonald by HMCI Smith, who had drafted the paper. Macdonald, in communicating its contents to Struthers, expressed disappointment with it, stating his own view that "There is little in it that is really fresh, and the whole is on rather artificial and doctrinaire lines. I do not think it faces up to the real difficulties at all".⁴⁴ Macdonald was convinced that in attempting to devise equivalent courses for the various types of pupils who would fall into the Sub-Committees's intermediate "stage" of education, they were failing to meet the needs of the pupils that he would prefer to classify as "Higher Primary pupils". In his opinion, whatever equivalent courses were proposed, they would inevitably be beyond the intellectual prowess of the majority of pupils who had "qualified". He noted

The Committee seem to me to have gone about their task the wrong way. They have ignored the fundamental fact that the school population falls into two parts - a majority of distinctly limited intelligence, and an extremely important minority drawn from all ranks and classes who are capable of responding to a much more severe call. It is vital for the body politic that each of these should have the very best education which it is possible to devise, but the education must be adapted to their capacities, and matters will not be helped by ignoring the difference between them. The type that is best for one is not necessarily best for the other, and attempts to establish equivalence may result in harm to both.

..... What the Committee seem to have done is to draw up a scheme which proceeds from the supposition that all save a few backward children are capable of profiting by the one sort of education.⁴⁵

This memorandum makes clear that the different points of view of the Advisory Council and the Department were quite irreconcilable. The difference in their attitudes hinged on how pupils should be treated from the age of about twelve. The Sub-Committee wanted to offer pupils a variety of courses within the same school and with a common core, while the Department favoured complete segregation of both courses and pupils, where possible.

Struthers supported Macdonald's criticism of the Sub-Committee's draft, but no direct instruction was passed on to the Advisory Council that it was moving towards conclusions ill-fitted to the Department's strategy. Broad hints, however, were given in the autumn of 1920 that the Council should reconsider some of its decisions. The original intention of the Sub-Committees of the Council had been that they should report back to the Advisory Council itself at an early date before presenting agreed reports to the SED, but the complex problems encountered by the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools caused some delays. The Department on hearing of these delays urged the Council not to rush to present premature conclusions, particularly when the anticipated conclusions were incompatible with emergent SED policy. Struthers informed Macdonald that Rose had mentioned to him that the completing of the report on the organisation of day schools was unlikely to be ready in the immediate future. In reply

..... I /Struthers/ added that any reasonable postponement of the report we should not grumble at, as it was the most important report of all, and should receive very thorough consideration before it went to the Advisory Council. I added also that, in my opinion, one part of the report, at all events, which required careful consideration was the programme for intermediate schools. They should consider whether it was not possible to devise alternative courses for those who could profit by a thorough-going study in the subjects from a purely scholastic point of view and those who, having little ability in this direction, might make progress on purely practical lines⁴⁶

In order that the Sub-Committee should be in no doubt as to the sort of courses that Struthers had in mind for the non-academic majority, he advised Macdonald to forward to members of the Sub-Committee, as a model, a scheme of instruction proposed on behalf of apprentice engineers on which Macdonald himself had submitted some notes. Copies of of this proposed scheme were sent out to members of the Sub-Committee on 15/11/20 Reinforcement of Struthers' conversation with Rose was made more formally through HMI Clark, who reported at the December meeting of the Sub-Committee

..... that he had been informed by the Department that they were not disposed to press the Sub-Committee to present a Report to the Advisory Council by a given date, if that would in any way interfere with a thorough discussion of controversial points, and that, in consequence, he had thought it advisable to defer presentation of a first Report.⁴⁷

As has been seen, however, rather than use the extension of time to take the opportunity to reverse decisions on the intermediate school, as the Department must have hoped, the Sub-Committee persevered with its task of designing equivalent curricula. Rose's letter of 6/10/21 to Struthers, indicating that three interim reports of the Council were ready for formal presentation to the Department, finally made clear that the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools would not be induced to move significantly from its position on the Intermediate school. If the initiative in policy making were to remain with the Department, steps might advisedly be taken to publish its own plans before those of the Council were minted as official currency.

In fact, the very day before Rose officially intimated that three draft reports had been

prepared, a conference between Struthers and the HMCIs was held, the problem of the reorganisation of post-primary schooling being the agenda.⁴⁸ A memorandum had been prepared by the Department, in which certain points were proposed for discussion, no decisions, according to the memorandum, having been taken at that time regarding any of the points.⁴⁹ The most salient proposals made were

(a) In future, all work beyond the qualifying stage might be concentrated in the Intermediate school, which would be segregated into two "sides", Higher Primary and Lower Secondary.

(b) The "logical" difference between Higher Primary and Lower Secondary should be maintained, notwithstanding that the courses might have subjects common to both and be conducted under the common roof of the Intermediate school, the explanation for this being two-fold

"firstly, the difference in capacity and tastes of pupils and, secondly the difference in the purpose of the Course".

One course was to function as the last stage of primary education, and the other was to be the first stage of the secondary course.

(c) These arrangements being made, the Intermediate Certificate might then be dispensed with.⁵⁰

In the discussion which followed a perusal and outline of the memorandum, Struthers was firm in his commitment as to the desirability of course separation. Even when in the course of discussion it was pointed out that, except in the burghs and larger centres, complete separation might be excessively expensive, he replied that

It was,, the ideal to be aimed at – a complete Primary Course with its Higher Primary work linked closely with the Continuation Class, and alongside of it a complete Secondary Course, the Lower Secondary stage existing merely as part of a clearing-house system.⁵¹

On the whole, the HMCIs were minuted as expressing agreement with the points brought forward in the memorandum, but one section met a good deal of criticism, that which questioned the value of retaining the Intermediate Certificate. While accepting that the certificate had lost its original justification as a preliminary qualification for admission to faculties of Medicine and Dentistry by a recent ordinance of the General Medical Council raising the standard to that of the full Leaving

Certificate, and that it need not be required as a passport to the Leaving Certificate, as had recently been the case, it was still held in high regard by pupils entering commerce. Without this certificate as an incentive, it was argued by the Chief Inspectors, these pupils would not have a realistic target to strive for. It was anticipated that the removal of the Intermediate Certificate would arouse the opposition of teachers and parents. And the substitution of a certificate awarded by the Education Authority in place of the Intermediate Certificate was seen as no solution.

It was feared that a Certificate given to Lower Secondary pupils at the age of 16 by the Education Authority would be of little value. The Secretary suggested that the Lower Secondary pupils might have the Higher Primary Certificate issued by the Education Authority with languages added⁵²

But there was little enthusiasm for Struthers' suggestion.

In spite of the Inspectorate's reservations with regard to the Intermediate Certificate, Struthers judged that the time was now ripe for declaring the Department's intentions. Accordingly, a circular was written, outlining the Department's advice to education authorities on reorganisation, and it was arranged that its contents should first be revealed to the Advisory Council and its Sub-Committees by Munro at a meeting which was to take place on 12th December, the day before the circular would be released to Authorities. In coming to this decision, Struthers had taken the advice of Macdonald, who had previously discussed the matter with Rose, who seemed extraordinarily sympathetic to Macdonald's intentions. Macdonald wrote to Struthers on 17th November

I had a talk yesterday afternoon with Sir Arthur Rose

As to the procedures regarding the Circular, the course he favoured was that Mr Munro should take it as the text of any remarks that he proposed to make to members of the Advisory Council and the members of the Sub-Committees when he met them. But he did not think it would be provident to invite expressions of individual opinion. In fact, his view was that, if the Council, etc, had some general explanation put before them on Monday, the Circular itself might be issued to

Authorities on the following day. All that was necessary was to let the Council feel that, in matters such as this, they were not precisely as other men are.⁵³

Arrangements for the release of the contents of the circular to the Council, and later to the public were prepared in meticulous detail. On 5th December, some three weeks after his discussion with Macdonald, Rose wrote to the conveners of the three Sub-Committees, suggesting how the business of the forthcoming meeting with Munro should be conducted.

..... I think it will be obvious to you that we can hardly leave the conference open to a general discussion as this would make it rather difficult for Mr Munro.

I have meantime tentatively arranged with Dr Macdonald that we should have a short discussion with the Council and Sub-Committees from 2.30 to 2.45 at which hour Mr Munro would join us, - it seems to me we should limit the remarks from our side to the following :-

1 Short introduction by me

2 Short speech by each of the three Conveners, raising as briefly as possible the principal points that Sub-Committees would like to bring before Mr Munro.⁵⁴

In replying, neither Stockdale nor Talbot demurred at this proposed procedure, but Burnet's wife intimated in a note of apology that he was ill, and would be unable to attend the meeting. MacGillivray emerged as a replacement for Burnet, and the assumption was that he would outline his Sub-Committee's proposals as the last of the three conveners to address the conference. Struthers, however, was unhappy that MacGillivray should immediately precede Munro as speaker, and he expressed his uneasiness in a note to Macdonald.

..... the order of the names of the speakers rather suggests that Mr MacGillivray would come last. I am not sure that it would not be better tactics to put it on first on the ostensible ground that he represents the Convener, Professor Burnet - but really because I think, firstly, that he will be constrained in the circumstances to condense his remarks by being placed first, and secondly, that it might be better that Dr Stockdale and Mr Talbot should follow him⁵⁵

In fact, the order of speakers was rearranged to meet Struthers' request, and a press release was issued to the "Scotsman" on 12th December, to appear in that newspaper on 13th, the day of issue of Circular 44. This press release of Munro's prepared speech began by accepting the possibility that there might be disagreement between the Council and the Department, but declared that the Advisory Council's viewpoint would not be ignored

..... It would perhaps be rash to predict that the Council and the Department will always see eye to eye. Indeed, if we are to progress at all, it is inevitable that there should be occasions when things do not appear to us both in exactly the same light. But I can at least promise definitely that, should we happen to disagree, every argument which the Council may bring forward will be thoroughly and scrupulously weighed before a final decision is reached⁵⁶

Munro then went on to give a direct reply to the Advisory Council's request for a ruling on the possible announcement of "appointed days" for the raising of the school leaving age and the making of continuation classes compulsory, indicating that existing circumstances would be maintained for the foreseeable future. He then went on to state the general terms of Circular 44 before announcing that

A Circular, the main motive of which is that which I have just stressed, will be sent out to Authorities immediately. It would indeed have been sent out before now, had it not been for my anxiety that you, who are in a very real sense my fellow-labourers in the cause, should learn of it from myself at first hand rather than through the columns of the daily press.

This seemed all the more desirable, because, at first sight, some of the steps which it has been decided to take may be thought to harmonise imperfectly with some of the positive recommendation which the Day-Schools Sub-Committee have made.⁵⁷

The difference in viewpoint between the Advisory Council and the Department was then interpreted or explained in terms of the Sub-Committee of the Council being concerned only with the education of the able minority of post-12 year old pupils.

..... it will, be found that the differences which emerge are due to the fact that the Circular is mainly concerned with an issue considerably wider than that which the Sub-Committee have as yet envisaged. The Sub-Committee and the Department agree in holding

that there are only two categories of pupils to be taken account of. But up till now the Sub-Committee have concerned themselves solely with the minority. The Department, on the other hand, have felt bound at this critical juncture to put the interests of the majority in the foreground and to regard them as paramount.⁵⁸

While it was true that the Sub-Committee had not yet devised courses for those leaving school before the age of 15, "the majority", their expectation on undertaking the remit was that in recommending arrangements for three year courses they would be catering for the majority of pupils, and in the draft report, they had expressed their belief that the five proposed curricula "would provide for nearly every type of pupil between the ages of 12 and 15 in our schools".⁵⁹ What had cast them in the role of planning for the minority was not their own intentions, but that the Government had been irresolute in fully implementing the terms of the 1918 Act.

The announcement of the contents of Circular 44 in this manner, however, effectively upstaged all other business of that meeting, and the focus of attention moved from the draft reports of the Advisory Council to the Circular itself.⁶⁰ The principal changes proposed in the Circular referred to the "qualifying" examination, the organisation of the post-primary sector, and a new policy on certification. It stated the intention of the Department that the conducting of the "qualifying" examination should be transferred from HMI to Education Authorities.⁶¹ Looking further to the duties of Education Authorities, under Section 6 of the Act, and referring to "the contemplated extension of the school age",⁶² the Circular intimated that in due course, each Authority would be asked to submit a scheme "for the education of the non-Secondary pupils as an organic whole",⁶³ the assumption having been made that Authorities would recognise pupils as falling into one of only two categories, "Secondary" or "non-Secondary". Rather than leave proposals for organisation entirely to the initiative of the Authorities, however, the Department chose to preface its intimation with some advice, that in considering "post-qualifying" organisation

Authorities would do well to concentrate their attention upon two main groups of pupils – those who are likely to complete a full course

of secondary education /"Secondary" pupils/ and those who, for one reason or another, will leave Day School at 15 or thereby, /"non-Secondary" pupils/, and subsequently give a year's attendance at Continuation Classes.⁶⁴

Invoking Circular 374 of 1903, which had deprecated the tendency in Scottish schools "to make one and the same school with one and the same staff serve many different functions",⁶⁵ Circular 44 urged that in considering schemes for the education of the "non-Secondary" pupils, Authorities should provide

..... wherever practicable, an entirely separate organization even in subjects which are common to the secondary and to the non-secondary group.⁶⁶

As had been suggested at the conference with the Chief Inspectors, the ruling of the General Medical Council was to be taken as a reason for dispensing with the Intermediate Certificate, and in its place a new certificate would be issued by Authorities to "non-Secondary" pupils on the successful completion of three years post-"qualifying" work in the upper primary school and one year in continuation classes.⁶⁷

Circular 44 was an ingenious document. Throughout, it presented the changes that the Department contemplated in terms of concern for the non-academic pupil, greater professional freedom and responsibility for teachers, and a loosening of Departmental reins over Authorities. The point was made that in approving schemes from Education Authorities, the Department would look for evidence of a determination to secure for the non-Secondary pupil "the full share of attention to which he is entitled",⁶⁸ and further to the advantage of the less able pupil, that he should not necessarily be refused promotion from the "qualifying" class until that standard had been attained. The justification for this being

To require that boys and girls shall spend two or three years of their lives in striving after the unattainable is as futile from the point of view of the State as it is cruel from the point of view of the individual.⁶⁹

The teachers' professional expertise was to be called upon at the "qualifying" stage wherever possible, "the responsibility for deciding whether individual pupils are ripe for advancement"⁷⁰ to lie with the teachers immediately concerned. Sustaining the theme of devolved authority, with the disappearance of the Intermediate Certificate, "Managers of grant-earning schools should henceforth have the same liberty as managers of non-grant-earning schools have always enjoyed".⁷¹

The substance of the changes proposed did not, however, always bear out the fair words alluding to them. With the exception of the Department's favouring promotion from the "qualifying" class on an age basis, proposing that pupils ought not to be required to languish ad nauseum in the "qualifying" class until such time, if ever, as they should attain that standard, there was a less attractive but unstated, obverse to each of the proposals. The rhetoric regarding fair treatment for the "non-Secondary" pupils was predicated on absolute segregation and the denial of secondary education to the majority. The conferring of responsibility for the conduct of the "qualifying" examination on to the Authorities and the teachers could be construed as the shuffling off of a tiresome and time-consuming burden on the Inspectorate; and that the Intermediate Certificate should be replaced by some other form of local award by the Authorities might be regarded as a transfer of examination expense from the central Department to rate-supported local administrations.

But the attitude taken by the press when the Circular was first issued and made public was generally one of approval. The SEJ, in printing the text in full, was least enthusiastic, merely advising its readers to "study carefully all the implications of the Circular",⁷² a matter to which they would refer in future weeks. The "Scotsman", on the other hand, was much less non-committal, seeing in Circular 44 the embodiment of the spirit of the 1918 Act. It noted that that Act had set up the machinery to allow the development of the national system of education on a wide front, but "the vital spark has been hitherto lacking".⁷³ Now under the aegis of Circular 44 the vital spark had been supplied and the emphasis would shift from concern for the opportunity of

the able pupil to commitment to the general education of the less able. The "Glasgow Herald", too, welcomed the Circular in its issue of 13th December, regarding it as "The dawn of an era of liberty"⁷⁴ and "A reform pregnant with promise alike for the nation and for the individual".⁷⁵ In fact, the initial bout of welcome was short-lived, and was soon followed by "A withering fire of criticism from various directions".⁷⁶ The "Glasgow Herald" was quick to modify its first response, repudiating its uncritical appraisal, and replacing it two days later with the conclusion

In the interests of social harmony and progress divorce between the different categories of students, and thus between the social or occupational classes to which they severally belong, is strongly to be deprecated.⁷⁷

The "Glasgow Herald's" volte-face was reported in the SEJ on December 23rd, in the first of a series of articles in that journal devoted to responses to Circular 44. Its own opening shot in the campaign was a trenchant analysis of what would be the overall effect on the national system of education were Circular 44 to be implemented in full. Its conclusion was

.....if the reorganisation of the Primary School is carried through on the lines indicated in the Circular, we shall have this extraordinary state of affairs - at one end of our educational system a reorganised Primary School. with an elastic and doubtless educationally valuable curriculum, at the other end the University, with a multiplicity of courses, and in between, evidently as the sole pathway, the present Secondary School with its relatively rigid curriculum, admittedly too "bookish" in type for many of our primary pupils. The picture is not too pleasing, and it assumes a darker hue when we recall the sinister words of the Circular⁷⁸ regarding the liberality of the Education Authorities in facilitating access to the Secondary Schools and the University.⁷⁹

This SEJ leader was followed three weeks later by a point by point commentary on Circular 44 by Dr A J Third, Director of Education of the Ayrshire Authority, and later to become president of the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland (ADES). His opening remarks implied his view that the Circular was disingenuous, that it foreshadowed "under the guise of certain alterations affecting examinations and certificates, changes in the whole educational system of a far-reaching, and indeed,

revolutionary, character".⁸⁰ In turn, the implications of the division of post-"qualifying" pupils into two distinct groups, the institution of a new certificate for "non-Secondary" pupils which would straddle the day school and continuation classes, and the proposed disappearance of the Intermediate Certificate, were subjected to rigorous examination, leading him to the conclusion that "The Circular as a whole seems to prepare the way not for an educational advance, but for a "cut" in the expenditure of the Department".⁸¹ His greatest anger, however, concentrated on the proposal that the Intermediate Certificate, and with it, a course offering access to higher levels of education to a majority of pupils, was to be done away with. He saw this move as "at variance with the democratic tradition and the natural line of advance of Scottish education".⁸² Moreover, these measures were "inconsistent with the spirit and to some extent with the terms, of the new Act".⁸³

Further criticism was launched against the Circular in an open letter sent by the Scottish Socialist Teachers' Society to the delegates to the Scottish Independent Labour Party Annual Conference. As might be expected from this body, its letter emphasised the social divisiveness apparently entailed by the Circular, that in their opinion, the true purpose of the proposal was to reorganise Scottish education on class lines, that secondary education would become the preserve of "the rich and comfortable classes",⁸⁴ while 95% of working class children would be fobbed off with "a species of scholastic shoddy followed by the factory or workshop at 14 or 15".⁸⁵ In a lecture to the Renfrewshire Local Association of the EIS, Dr William Boyd, Lecturer in Education at Glasgow University, similarly deplored the divisiveness that would result, advocating that rather than reduce the courses of post-primary education to two, it would be educationally more desirable that the number of alternatives at this stage be increased: to meet differences of ability "we have to broaden our ideas of secondary education, make the school fit the pupil, not the pupil fit the school".⁸⁶ Positive alternatives to the SED's proposals did in fact follow the lines laid down by the Advisory Council, that the stage of intermediate education be developed and

diversified rather than narrowed and segregated. In almost these words, John Clarke, Executive Officer of the Glasgow Authority, expressed his solution to the problem of organisation at the post-“qualifying” stage. His view was that

What is required is not a division of pupils into “Secondary” and “Non-Secondary”, but the extension of the content of the Intermediate Course so as to include curricula suitable for all types of pupils between the ages of twelve and fifteen. These curricula should be of equal prestige, and should not necessarily involve the segregating of any class of pupils in one particular type of school.⁸⁷

The weight of public opinion lay with the Advisory Council rather than with the Department once the contents of Circular 44 had been digested. Following a wave of adverse reactions, most of which were given space in the SEJ in the early part of 1922, there was a steady stream of opposition registered, mainly by Education Authorities in the course of that year. The most frequently expressed objection to the Circular referred to the proposed segregation of pupils, but critics did not always oppose this measure from a disinterested point of view. In many of the more rural Authority areas, disagreement with this ideal was often prompted as much by the pragmatic necessity of organising education according to population distribution than out of conviction that de-segregation was educationally desirable. The most blatant expression of interest came not from Education Authorities, however, but from the Classical Association of Scotland, which urged the retention of the Intermediate course on a broader basis in order that Classics might be taught to a larger proportion of the school population.⁸⁸ On the whole, though, the attacks made on Circular 44 seemed to derive more from an altruistic concern for the future of Scottish education rather than from personal motives of interest.

While some criticism from the Scottish educational community outwith the Department might have been expected, continued opposition to Circular 44 came from a rather more surprising source, and in a rather more muted form. On becoming Secretary of the Department at the beginning of 1922 on the retiral of Struthers,

Macdonald held a conference with the Chief Inspectors. As with the October, 1921, conference, reorganisation of schools provided the basis of the agenda. Macdonald explained the rationale of Circular 44

..... The main concern of the Department was that proper provision should be made for the pupil who was obviously unfitted and unlikely to profit by a more or less truncated course of secondary education. Such pupils ought to be segregated from those who were clearly able to go forward in the secondary course⁸⁹

His explanation, however, did not entirely convince all present of the wisdom of the move. HMCI Munro Fraser, who was soon to retire, pointed out that the chief difficulty lay in "a general misapprehension of what was intended by the Circular".⁹⁰ He drew attention to the fact that "in some quarters the policy of the Circular was looked upon as an attempt to degrade the education of the working man's children",⁹¹ that if the proposed measures came about, "The provision of a less highly qualified staff, larger classes etc, would necessarily mean an inferior form of education".⁹² Leaving these observations to make what impression they would on Macdonald, he added that should the Intermediate Certificate be abolished, the Department ought to replace it with some other form of national certificate. Supporting Fraser in this suggestion, two other HMCIs, one of whom, Jamieson, had served on the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, added that such a certificate would be appropriate for pupils not after a year spent in continuation classes, but "at the close of their day-school career".⁹³ The concern of the Chief Inspectors, clearly, was that the award of a certificate should coincide with the statutory leaving age in order that it should be of some instrumental value in securing employment. Macdonald's reply emphasised the educational function of the certificate, arguing that

..... for a considerable proportion of the large class who leave school at fifteen or sixteen, some form of certificate issued by the Education Authority, testifying to the completion of a sound form of education, based mainly on English, would be better than the present Intermediate Certificate given on the completion of a truncated course of secondary education. It was only in this way that the present Supplementary Course could be improved upon, and the Lower Secondary course relieved of its over-plus of really non-secondary

pupils.⁹⁴

Quite apart from the social effects of segregation, which the Inspectors had hinted at, Macdonald's argument failed to take into account, that without compulsion to attend for four years beyond the "qualifying" stage, only a small minority of pupils would be tempted to stay on to complete a four years course of non-Secondary education which held out little hope of social advancement. At a second conference with HMCI's in December, the draft code for 1923 in which the measures of Circular 44 were to be given statutory authority, was discussed.⁹⁵ Again the Chief Inspectors made a plea on certification, this time in favour of the retention of the Merit Certificate, to be awarded on the completion of a two years course, regarded by them as a reasonable norm failing a fixing of the statutory leaving age at 15. Macdonald was not against this idea in principle, the main lines of the new code having been established. He stated that he would give consideration to this proposal, "but he would not be inclined to refer to such a matter in the Code".⁹⁶ In this way, any lingering opposition that the senior Inspectorate might have harboured was effectively brought to an end.

As for the Advisory Council itself, the events of the afternoon of 12th December, which had included a eulogy on Struthers on his imminent retirement, had been so well stage-managed that little opportunity had been afforded for expressions of disagreement. By January, the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools seemed to have recovered sufficiently to make their point of view known. At the meeting of 25th January, MacGillivray moved that a written protest be sent to the Department and to Munro himself, referring not so much to the content of Circular 44 but to the manner of its presentation to the Council, and subsequent release to Authorities.⁹⁷ In proposing the lodging of a protest, he explained that he had taken exception to the method the Department had adopted at the Conference, and in this he received the support of other members. The suggestion was made by HMCI Jamieson, however, that the feeling of the Sub-Committee might be expressed more effectively if Sir Arthur Rose would convey it orally to the Secretary for Scotland. Rose

readily undertook to perform this task, and accordingly a meeting was arranged between the two men. The protest was duly registered by Rose on the morning of St Valentine's day, 1922, but how effectively or enthusiastically it conveyed the feeling of the meeting can only be guessed at from the tone of Macdonald's comments to Munro accompanying Macdonald's subsequent draft "apology" to the Council.

I understand that Sir Arthur Rose discussed with you this morning the little trouble that he /Rose/ had had with the members of his Sub-Committee

I am not quite happy about the following draft, as I rather feel that the tone of it is almost too apologetic. I have shown it to Sir Arthur who shares my hesitation but is unable to make any suggestion towards modification.⁹⁸

The "apology" was sent out on 21st February, without amendment, assuring the Council that he (the Secretary for Scotland) had been grateful for the efforts they had shown, explaining that lack of time in December was the sole reason for limiting discussion at the Conference, and suggesting that "If the Reports and the Circular had had sufficient ground in common it might have been different".⁹⁹ The justification for the drawing up of the Circular was that "none of the three Reports had seriously entered into the main problem dealt with in the Circular".¹⁰⁰ This letter was read out at the meeting of the Sub-Committee on 22nd June, 1922, and "The Sub-Committee agreed with the Chairman when he expressed the view that the Vice-President's explanation was perfectly satisfactory".¹⁰¹ It would seem, in fact, that those who had most cause to indulge in lengthy recrimination with the Department over Circular 44, the Sub-Committee, were least inclined to take the matter further.

In spite of the broad front of opposition to Circular 44, its provisions were given effect in the new codes of 1923. The principle of separate organisation was affirmed: secondary education was to be conducted under one set of regulations, while primary education, including the new Advanced Divisions (the positive nomenclature adopted in preference to "non-Secondary") in place of the Supplementary courses, was to be conducted under another set.¹⁰² The sharp distinction between "Secondary" and

"Advanced Division" curricula was also emphasised in the new policy of certification. The Advanced Division courses were to be regarded as two- or three-year units, leading to the Day School Certificate (Higher) or the Day School Certificate (Lower), while the only goal of the secondary course was the Leaving Certificate. The discontinuing of the Intermediate Certificate, which had served as an instrument in conceptually unifying post-primary education other than that of the Supplementary course, particularly since 1906, when that Certificate became a necessary pre-requisite before passing on to the specialised subjects of the Leaving Certificate, served to reinforce the division. The ideological framework of 1903, which had gradually been eroded by the popularity of the intermediate course, was reasserted, and no central initiative was taken to retain intermediate schools, even on a "clearing-house" basis. The essential difference between the Advanced Division courses and the Supplementary courses acknowledged as their predecessors, was that the Advanced Division courses would be notionally longer, and be conducted on broader lines. There was to be course bias, mainly Domestic, Commercial and Technical, and to allow of some specialisation, a variety of teachers would be required – the one-teacher-one-class system that had prevailed in the Supplementary course would be replaced by more specialised instruction by several subject specialists.

Such was the model of Scottish education beyond the "qualifying" stage set out by the new codes, but the practice of the Education Authorities did not always match that tidy prescription. In his attack on Circular 44, Third had observed that "Fortunately, a large measure of freedom seems to be left to Authorities to follow lines other than those recommended, should they so decide",¹⁰³ and the type of course actually provided often depended as much on the type of school in which it was conducted, what the school could provide in terms of physical facilities and teaching staff, as on the stated purpose of the course. At one extreme, there might be an amended academic course of three years duration, indistinguishable from the intermediate course, while at the other, an adapted minimal Supplementary course

might be the best that the Authority had the resources to provide. On the whole, Education Authorities showed more immediate readiness to submit three year courses for the Department's approval than two-year courses, and in areas in which the academic tradition was strong, Authorities took these three-year courses very seriously, staffing them with teachers "who stand high both academically and professionally".¹⁰⁴ At the other extreme, the situation in Orkney in 1924, may serve to illustrate the poverty of provision. The district HMI noted in his report for that year

..... many or most of the schools in this district will be unable to meet the requirements of even a two years' course. We shall have to be content with trying to make the best of the situation. It is at all events something to the good if we can put a little new life into what has hitherto passed as a supplementary course.¹⁰⁵

In fact, the reforms emanating from Circular 44 failed to render more efficient either "side" of the post-"qualifying" stage. The Advanced Divisions proved no more popular than the Supplementary courses which had preceded them, and the abolition of the Intermediate Certificate did little to resolve the problem of "wastage" in the secondary schools. What bedevilled the Advanced Division courses was what had most frustrated the best intentions of the Supplementary courses before them, that pupils embarked on them and abandoned these courses in accordance with non-educational considerations rather than observing the demands of the course design. "Qualifying" and leaving school occurred at a variety of chronological ages, and although it was reported that the setting up of Advanced Divisions had resulted in pupils remaining at school for longer than they otherwise would have done, the obtaining of employment generally presented itself as a more worthwhile goal than obtaining the Day School Certificate either (Higher) or (Lower).¹⁰⁶ The great majority of pupils rendered themselves ineligible for certification by not completing even a two-year course. A similar pattern of subordinating the prospect of formal certification to the reality of a desired apprenticeship or occupation obtained in secondary schools, with only a fraction of those setting out on a five-year course ever gaining the coveted Leaving

Certificate.¹⁰⁷

Whether the failure of the policy of the inter-war years for the post-"qualifying" stage can be directly attributed to the application of the principles adumbrated in Circular 44 or to the generally depressed economic situation of these years is a debatable point. Certainly, high levels of unemployment and the scarcity of "first job" chances contributed to the problem of "wastage". So too did the popularity of the secondary school, whose pupils would almost always have an advantage in the employment market over their Advanced Divisions contemporaries. In one other respect, however, the economic situation contributed to the failure of the lower level of the bipartite system, the Advanced Divisions. Soon after the release of Circular 44, "the Geddes axe"¹⁰⁸ was wielded, and its sharpest edge was felt in the Advanced Division sector, which, being conducted under the Primary School Regulations, allowed of larger class sizes, less-well-qualified teachers, and fewer facilities, than required under the regulations controlling secondary education. The release of Circular 44 may not have been prompted by foreknowledge of the Geddes axe, as was alleged by some of its critics,¹⁰⁹ but the timing of its issue coincided remarkably with the beginning of a policy of stringent economy measures in schools.

Whatever motives may be imputed to the thrust of Circular 44, the implementation of the codes of 1923 did little to impose uniformity on the post-"qualifying" sector of education in Scotland. What the authorisation of these codes did do, however, was legitimate thinking in terms of two distinct streams of post-"qualifying" education. As has already been argued, the existence of the Intermediate Certificate had served to draw together the more popular strands of post-"qualifying" education before and during the Great War. Emphasis on the Intermediate Certificate encouraged education beyond the "qualifying" stage on a broad front, and in so doing went some way towards meeting the claims of a substantial proportion, if not an actual majority, of "qualified" pupils. The success of the Intermediate Certificate was squeezing out Supplementary courses, the recognised extensions of primary education beyond the

age of 12. A consequence of the measures recommended in Circular 44 being given statutory authority, was that, in spite of protests to the contrary, primary and secondary education could again be regarded as being parallel forms rather than consecutive stages of education. Had the recommendations of the Advisory Council been adopted, however, all pupils would have been afforded access to secondary education, albeit to differentiated courses of varying academic difficulty, but each affording pupils the opportunity of general intellectual development. By the provision of a common core curriculum to the age of 15, and deferral of final selection as to suitability for courses leading to the Leaving Certificate until that age, the principle of "Secondary Education for All" would, effectively have been implemented in Scotland more than a decade before it was officially accepted as a basis of policy.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. 35 & 36 Vict, Ch 62.
2. Anderson R D (1983) Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities; Clarendon Press, Oxford; p 214.
3. A persistent problem until the raising of the school leaving age without exemptions in 1947 was early leaving. Until then, pupils frequently left school before the completion of their post-primary courses in order to take up employment.
4. The "qualifying examination was first introduced by Article 29 of the Code of 1903. The purpose of this written, non-certificate examination, conducted by the Inspectorate, had been to attest that the candidate had satisfactorily completed a course of primary education and was fit to pass on to a post-primary course. The usual age of presentation was about 12, but precocious pupils might take the examination slightly earlier. Much more common, however, was late presentation or repeat presentations. For a substantial minority of pupils, the "qualifying" test proved an insuperable barrier.
5. Weighand, J E (1970) Post-primary Education in Scotland 1918 - 1930; unpublished MEd dissertation, and Wade, N A (1939) Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland; ULP, London, give very full descriptions of post-primary organisation, curriculum, and certification to 1918.
6. SED (1920) General Reports for the year 1919 by His Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools in Scotland; HMSO, London; p 17.
7. SED (1922) Report of the Committee of Council on Education in

Scotland, 1921-22; HMSO, London; p 8. Cmnd 1666.

8. SED (1921) General Reports for the year 1920 by His Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools in Scotland; HMSO, London; p 20.
9. SED (1922), op cit; p 9.
10. Ibid; p 11.
11. SED (1920), op cit; p 11.
12. SED (1921), op cit; p 79.
13. SED (1922), op cit; p 11.
14. Scottish Education Department (Advisory Council) Order in Council, 1920.
15. Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. 8 & 9 Geo 5, Ch 48, Section 20.
16. ED 8/1, Struthers to Armstrong, newly appointed Secretary of the Advisory Council, no date.
17. ED 8/1, First meeting of the Advisory Council, 22/4/20.
18. "Scotsman", 23/4/20.
19. Scottish Education Department (Advisory Council) Order in Council, 1920; para 6.
20. "Scotsman", 23/4/20.
21. After experiencing some financial difficulty towards the end of the First World War, the "Educational News" was replaced by the Scottish Educational Journal as the official organ of the EIS.
22. Scottish Educational Journal, 30/4/20, p 335.
23. ED 8/1, Covering note of 1/7/20 for each of three memoranda.
24. ED 8/3, First draft report of the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, undated.
25. ED 8/1, SED Memorandum "General Organization of Day Schools".
26. Burnet, John (1917) Higher Education and the War; Chatto and Windus, London.
27. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 20/7/20.
28. The other three questions referred to transfer from the primary school and the need for a statement on centralisation at the post-primary stage.
29. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 1/10/20.

30. Ibid.

31. Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. 8 & 9 Geo 5, Ch 48, Section 6.

32. ED 8/3, Joint meeting between Sub-Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools in urban areas and Sub-Committee on organisation of continuation classes in urban areas, 8/10/20.

33. ED 8/3, Advisory Council to Struthers, 14/10/20.

34. ED 8/3, Struthers to Advisory Council, 15/10/20.

35. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 15/12/20.

36. Ibid.

37. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 24/3/21.

38. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 5/4/21.

39. ED 8/1, Meeting of Advisory Council, 26/10/21.

40. ED 8/1, Referred to on p 11 of the draft report.

41. ED 8/1, Meeting of Advisory Council, 26/10/21.

42. ED 8/1, Rose to Struthers, 6/10/21.

43. Macdonald recounts a particularly candid discussion with MacGillivray: ED 8/3, Macdonald to Struthers, 27/10/20 :- "..... While I was dictating this minute I was interrupted by Mr MacGillivray who came upstairs to speak to me about another matter. Incidentally, I asked him how they were getting on, and gathered that they were just beginning to understand how big the problems were. He said he thought the Department had acted very wisely in setting its critics to try their hand at constructive work for themselves. His own idea was that the Committee could do little more than put upon paper a statement of things that have occurred to them and then leave the Department to decide what was best to be done".

44. ED 8/3, Macdonald to Struthers, 25/10/20.

45. Ibid.

46. ED 8/3, Struthers to Macdonald, 28/10/20.

47. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 15/12/20.

48. ED 7/4/71, Conference between the Secretary and HMCIs, 5/10/21.

49. ED 7/4/71, "Memorandum on possible reform of the general system of school organisation and the certificates connected

therewith"; undated paper.

50. ED 7/4/71, Summary of proposals contained in "Memorandum on possible reform"; op cit.
51. ED 7/4/71, Conference between Secretary and HMCIs, 5/10/21.
52. Ibid.
53. ED 8/1, Macdonald to Struthers, 17/11/21.
54. ED 8/1, Rose to conveners of Sub-Committees, 5/12/21.
55. ED 8/1, Struthers to Macdonald, 9/12/21.
56. "Scotsman", 13/12/21.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. ED 8/3, Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, dated 14/4/21.
60. SED (1921) Circular 44: no title; HMSO, London.
61. Ibid; para 2.
62. Ibid; para 4.
63. Ibid; para 7.
64. Ibid; para 4.
65. SED (1903) Circular 374: Plans for Reorganisation; HMSO, Edinburgh.
66. SED Circular 44; op cit.
67. Ibid, para 10.
68. Ibid, para 7.
69. Ibid, para 3.
70. Ibid, para 1.
71. Ibid, para 9.
72. Scottish Educational Journal, 16/12/21, p 914.
73. "Scotsman", 13/12/21.
74. "Glasgow Herald", 13/12/21.
75. Ibid.

76. Wade, N A (1939) Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland; ULP, London; p 122.
77. "Glasgow Herald", 15/12/21.
78. Scottish Educational Journal, 23/12/21, p 931.
79. SED (1921) Circular 44, op cit; para 4:- "There is abundant evidence that, so far as this particular obligation is concerned /bursary provision for able pupils/, the liberality of Education Authorities has brought Scotland nearer to the ideal than she has been at any previous period in her educational history. Indeed the only point as to which doubt arises is whether due attention is always paid to the over-riding condition /intellectual fitness/.
80. Scottish Educational Journal, 13/1/22, p 26.
81. Ibid; p 27
82. Ibid; p 26
83. Ibid.
84. Scottish Educational Journal, 20/1/22, p 46.
85. Ibid.
86. Scottish Educational Journal, 27/1/22, p 63.
87. Scottish Educational Journal, 3/2/22, p 74.
88. ED 8/1, Report of meeting of St Andrew's Branch Association of Classical Association of Scotland, 11/2/22.
89. ED 7/4/72, Conference between the Secretary and HMCIs, 21/2/22.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid. cf Scottish Socialist Teachers Society's views, SEJ, 20/1/22.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. ED 7/4/73, Conference between the Secretary and HMCIs, 19/12/22.
96. Ibid.
97. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 25/1/22.
98. ED 8/1, Macdonald to Munro, 14/2/22.
99. ED 8/1, Munro to Advisory Council, 21/2/22.

100. Ibid.
101. ED 8/3, Meeting of Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools, 22/6/22.
102. SED (1923) Code of Regulations for Day Schools in Scotland; HMSO, London; and SED (1923) Secondary Schools (Scotland) Regulations; HMSO, London.
103. Scottish Educational Journal, 13/1/22; op cit.
104. SED (1926) General Reports for the year 1925 on Day Schools by His Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools in Scotland; HMSO, London; p 10.
105. SED (1925) General Reports for the year 1924 on Day Schools by His Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools in Scotland; HMSO, London; pp 66-67.
106. SED (1928) General Reports for the year 1927 on Day Schools by His Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools in Scotland; HMSO, London, pp 15-16.
107. Ibid; pp 15-16.
108. First Interim Report of Committee on National Expenditure; HMSO, London, dated 14/12/21, one day after the release of Circular 44.
109. Scottish Educational Journal, 23/12/21, p 931.

Chapter 3

The Decline of the Council in the Inter-War Years

The issue of Circular 44 by the Department, and the manner and timing of its release, were crucial to the significance of the Advisory Council as a policy making body to be reckoned with. Indeed, after the issue of the Circular the Advisory Council did not attract public attention in a positive way until it was reconstituted in 1942. Even before the first Council demitted office in November, 1924, there were cynical jibes in the educational press as to the Council's continuing existence. After more than a year had elapsed without a meeting of the Council taking place, the Scottish Educational Journal remarked in response to a statement in the House of Commons by William Adamson, the first Labour Secretary for Scotland,

We are glad to hear that the Secretary for Scotland is to take an early opportunity of discussing his educational policy with the Advisory Council

We daresay it came almost as a shock to most Scottish educationists to learn that the Advisory Council was still in existence. Its animation has been suspended for so long that the worst had been feared.¹

By the early 1930s, the general impression was that the Council had indeed ceased to function, the SEJ declaring in 1934 that "What we require is our own Hadow Report for Scotland",² apparently unaware that the Advisory Council had already produced a report which had pre-empted much of Hadow, and that the Scottish counterpart to the Consultative Committee had recently been re-convened after some two years in abeyance.

General ignorance regarding the continued functioning of the Council in the inter-war years may be attributed to the fact that after the publication of its first report in 1923, only two others were published,³ and that when published they attracted little

controversy – and no action on the part of the SED. There are, however, other reasons for the Advisory Council's ceasing to assert its presence on Scottish education in the inter-war period, reasons which were not apparent when the Council was first constituted. On the passing of the 1918 Act, the main efforts of those involved in the administration of Scottish education had been to make good the damage that the war had inflicted, and to render the terms of the Act effective. In one matter, planning the organisation of post-primary schooling, the SED had solicited the advice of the Council, but there were other areas of concern which were addressed without first consulting the Council. In the years immediately after the war, shortages of staff, inadequate school buildings, establishing the new local authorities, and incorporating denominational schools to the public system, were all matters that competed with the organisation of post-primary education for the centre of the educational stage.⁴ But, as has been noted, they did not relegate the Advisory Council and its main enquiry to the wings.

What effectively did displace all other educational issues, however, was the economy drive of 1920–21 waged by Lloyd George's government, culminating in the reports of the Geddes Committee⁵ produced soon after the issue of Circular 44. The ready implementation of the Geddes reports resulted in stringent economies on governmental expenditure, including educational expenditure. Whether drawn up with foreknowledge of large scale retrenchment or not, the new draft codes based on Circular 44 were consonant with a policy of cutting back, and when the codes were debated in Parliament, they were approved by supporters of the Government, who would have been in favour of any measure which would effect economies. Their support for the codes was on economic rather than educational grounds. There was, however, in Scotland, strong opposition to the drafts of the new codes, both in the columns of the SEJ and by Scottish MPs, and in the course of the campaign of opposition to the codes several general points on the governance of Scottish education were expressed, points which no doubt affected Advisory Council members'

perceptions of their role and status.

In May, 1923, the Code of Regulations for Day Schools in Scotland,⁶ and the Secondary Schools (Scotland) Regulations,⁷ were issued in draft. These draft regulations, embodying the principles of Circular 44, were attacked by the Department's critics as being the products of expediency, the educational arguments surrounding the issuing of Circular 44 having been largely exhausted in the course of 1922. When the implications of the draft regulations had been digested, the significant point was made that not only did the new regulations provide for a less costly national system of education, in line with the Geddes ideology which seemed to dominate the whole of Government policy, but that they followed all too closely the newly-approved codes for England. The EIS's interpretation of events was that

Scotland is being tied to England in all matters educational, much to the retardation of the development of Scottish education in our opinion. At one time Scotland had a Code of its own, distinctive in form and matter, but the two before us are a replica of the English Regulations. They have the same heading – "Standing Rules and Orders" and are in many respects similar

The regulations for Technical Schools and Higher Grade Schools were formerly contained in the /Scottish/ Code – a clear evidence that the whole educational system of Scotland was a unity and was properly co-ordinated and articulated. The very fact that we have these two Codes shows that the Department is imitating England's division of education into Elementary and Higher Education

The belief that the SED's initiative in the making of policy had been usurped, was again commented on a month before the debate on the new codes took place. What prompted this criticism was the issue of a memorandum by the Association of Education Committees in England and Wales in June, 1923.⁹ The thrust of this Memorandum was that the Board of Education, although apparently acting autocratically towards education authorities, was to a great extent at the mercy of the Treasury, a department whose powers were apparently unchallengable. The SEJ argued that in their recent actions, the Scottish Education Department had fallen under the influence of both the Board of Education and the Treasury, and with

reference to Circular 44 and the new codes "many of us have felt so convinced that this was the case that we have sympathised with the Department in the position in which it has found itself during recent months. The hands have been those of Esau, but the voice was that of Jacob."¹⁰

The Scottish Estimates debate of that year seemed to add weight to the claim that the Department was far from responsive to Scottish opinion. In the course of the debate the new codes were discussed, Frederick Thomson, Unionist MP for Aberdeen South and the Solicitor-General for Scotland, making the case on behalf of the Government.¹¹ The Opposition made much of the point that under the new regulations, the maximum class size in the advanced division classes was to be forty, while in schools conducted under the Secondary Schools (Scotland) Regulations a maximum of no more than thirty pupils was allowed. The Solicitor-General preferred to gloss over this point, choosing rather to cite commendations of the Department's draft codes rather than tackle the questions related to teacher/pupil ratios and the provision of resources for the advanced division courses. Apparently unimpressed by his case, Scottish MPs in the House voted forty to eleven against the motion, and of the eleven supporting the Government, two had voiced some opposition to the codes. The motion was, however, carried, the Government being saved "by the serried cohorts of English Tories",¹² leading the SEJ to comment later that year that

The painful spectacle presented by the debate on the Scottish Estimates this summer, when a Code, repugnant to almost every educationist in Scotland, was forced on an unwilling country by English votes, showed conclusively that Scottish education was no longer master of its fate.¹³

The Advisory Council had not sat while the new codes were being debated in the Commons, but it is of some significance, that once the codes had been approved by Parliament, there was no concerted attempt either by the Council or by the wider world of Scottish education to oppose the new regulations. With the election of

Ramsay MacDonald, a Scot, as first Labour Prime Minister in 1924, hope was expressed that Scottish education might yet embark on a new expansive and independent phase.¹⁴ This hope was, however, dashed within weeks of the Labour Government taking office, William Adamson, the new Secretary for Scotland, giving "very adroit and evasive"¹⁵ answers to questions in the House. The prevailing Geddes ideology reasserted itself, "facts are chiels that winna ding"¹⁶ declared the EIS, and Scotland prepared itself to face a period of continuing stagnation. If neither the Board of Education nor the SED could prevail against the Treasury, and the Department was content to follow the Board in regard to the organisation of the post-primary sector, having defeated the Advisory Council on that major issue, the logic of the situation seemed to indicate that the Advisory Council could never be other than an ineffective and superfluous body in the policy making process. Whether members of the Advisory Council applied this rationale or not to their situation is a matter of speculation, but when the Council did resume sitting after the controversy over the codes, members committed themselves to its affairs with rather less enthusiasm than they had formerly done.

Some fifteen months after parliamentary approval of the new codes had been secured, the first Advisory Council was discharged and a second Council was immediately constituted, thus sustaining continuity, but hardly re-invigorating the Council. The general disillusionment that had overtaken Scottish education was felt among Council members as keenly as elsewhere. But the ineptitude of successive Advisory Councils in the inter-war period cannot simply be explained in terms of loss of heart. Having experienced confrontation with the Council over the issue of Circular 44, the Department determined that such an episode would not be repeated, and steps were taken to curb the Council's independence. The process of restricting the Council's initiative had in fact begun early in 1922, soon after the issue of Circular 44. The first step towards the SED asserting firmer control came about through the illness of Professor Burnet, which had prevented him from making an address to the Council on

12th December, the day that Munro announced the issuing of Circular 44, and MacGillivray made the address in Burnet's absence.¹⁷ Burnet's illness, in fact, proved to be a serious one, and he intimated his intention to resign from the Council. This intended resignation perturbed the Department considerably, fearing that the convenership of the most troublesome Sub-Committee would fall into the hands of one of the teacher members of the Council. Macdonald expressed his concern in a letter to Rose, the Chairman of the Council, – and tentatively suggested a solution to the problem.

I think it is right to let you know that, from the information which has reached me, I have grave reason to doubt whether Professor Burnet is likely to be of much more use to us in the Advisory Council. Meanwhile, I understand, he is to be granted six months' leave of absence from his University duties. This is very awkward in view of the emergency of the reference to the Day Schools' Committee, and I think you might be turning matters over in your mind with the view of seeing what ought to be done. the only suggestion that has been made to me is that you yourself should undertake the duty of Convener. From our point of view there is a great deal to be said in favour of this; All I am clear about now is that it would be a little unfortunate if anyone who has committed himself to the opinion that the Circular is 'reactionary' were to step into the vacant post.¹⁸

But Rose was not immediately enthusiastic about taking on this new role. He offered sympathy to the Department's expressed reluctance to have someone who might oppose Departmental policy as convener of the Sub-Committee, but declared himself hardly capable of "taking on such a highly technical job".¹⁹ But Rose did not unequivocally dismiss the suggestion that he should become convener of the Sub-Committee and this apparently encouraged Macdonald to further press him. In spite of the difficulties that stood in the way of Rose becoming convener – he had to submit himself for election, he was technically ineligible to stand for election as an *ex officio* member of the Sub-Committee, his confessed unsuitability – Macdonald laid before him a scheme to secure his *de facto* control of that Sub-Committee. In a letter to Rose, Macdonald explained how the HMIs on the Sub-Committee would be used to secure Rose's leadership of it, and how they might assist him in his task once appointed. Macdonald's first efforts were directed at obtaining from the Inspectors on

the Sub-Committee their own ideas as to the most suitable convener, and their analysis of the loyalty/popularity relationships within the Sub-Committee

..... I have tried to ascertain what Clark's /Inspector/ own view is, and have also got the opinions of the other two Inspector members. All are agreed upon two points: (1) That, if it were possible, you yourself would be much the best convener, and (2) that, failing you, the second best would probably be the Rev Alexander Andrew.

Clark, however, said - and I am disposed to think there is a good deal in it - that if Andrew were proposed MacGillivray would undoubtedly be put up against him, and in all likelihood win. If you were proposed your name would be accepted by everybody without any demur. He added that it would not involve so much work upon your part as might be expected. The spade work would be done by a Sub-Sub-Committee consisting of an Inspector, an Executive Officer and a Primary Schoolmaster. Your task would be to hold the balance even and steer the draft through the Sub-Committee itself.²⁰

Macdonald proposed that the difficulty of the Chairman of the Council becoming a convener might be got over by the Sub-Committee declining to accept Burnet's resignation definitely, and asking Rose to take over his duties as a purely temporary expedient, explaining that

That would be a natural enough course to take if Burnet were likely to return, and there could be no harm in assuming that he will. Moreover, MacGillivray could feel no soreness if such a scheme were carried out.²¹

The details for effecting the election of Rose to the convenership were sanctioned by Struthers, who had alerted Rose as to the role of the Inspector members of the Sub-Committee in the procedure. In a note to HMCI Clark, he wrote

I have told /Rose/ that I consider the solution which you and I talked of on Friday is probably the most satisfactory one. It will be for you and him to arrange as to how best it can be carried through. You, of course, can advise Jamieson and Smith as to the line that they ought to take, but there will be other people that ought to be approached also. I daresay Sir Arthur may have some suggestions to offer.²²

In spite of carefully laid plans, the appointment of Sir Arthur Rose as convener of the Sub-Committee was not effected without a hitch. At the first meeting of the

Sub-Committee in 1922, Clark, the Secretary to the Sub-Committee, intimated that Professor Burnet could not be present, and on the motion of Jamieson, Rose took the chair. After making a sympathetic reference to Burnet's indisposition

..... the Chairman expressed the hope that Professor Burnet might be able to continue as Convener, and suggested that an Interim-Convener be selected. This was unanimously approved.²³

But before any of the Inspector members could nominate Rose for this position, as had been planned, J B Clark, the Headmaster of Heriot's School, moved that MacGillivray be Interim-Convener. This move must have taken the "prepared" men by surprise, but their surprise and disappointment was only temporary, MacGillivray declining to accept the nomination as a gesture to reinforce the protest he wished to register regarding the content of Circular 44 and the manner of its release at the December Conference. So it happened that MacGillivray, the Council member most opposed to the Department's policy of post-"qualifying" organisation, turned down the opportunity to present himself for election to the convenership of the most important sub-committee of the first Advisory Council. Immediately on his refusal to stand for election to the post, Rose was duly nominated by Jamieson, and unanimously elected.

The first step had been taken to bring the Department's influence to bear more strongly on the sub-committee, but others were yet to be effected. Towards the end of 1922, Macdonald again exerted pressure on the Council, but rather more overtly on this occasion, and in the course of the Council fulfilling its main function, the producing of a report. In spite of the Department having issued Circular 44 the Council's first priority after Rose had been elected convener of the sub-committee was to tackle one of the problems which had been referred back to the Sub-Committee at the Council meeting of October, 1921, that of devising appropriate curricula for pupils who would not complete three years of post-"qualifying" schooling. The Sub-Committee's response to this additional remit was to set up another small working "group" to make the required recommendations. The additional

report of the "group" was presented to the Sub-Committee for ratification at a meeting held in June of that year, but the content of that report proved in no way controversial, containing remarks on neither certification nor schools' organisation, but consisting mainly of the general outlines of three suggested types of curricula for pupils for whom provision had to be made under existing conditions. At that same meeting of the Sub-Committee, it was agreed that no useful purpose could be served by discussing conditions of transfer (as Circular 44 had already offered advice to Education Authorities on that matter), and as for the curriculum of the pre-"qualifying" pupil in the primary school, agreement was reached that the topic be held over to a later date.²⁴ At the full Council meeting in December, the earlier "interim" report, which had caused so much concern to the Department, together with this uncontroversial additional section on curricula for the shorter post-"qualifying" courses, were discussed together as the new Draft Report of the Sub-Committee.

At that full Council meeting of December, 1922, the reports of the three sub-committees were forwarded for final approval by the Council, and the one that inevitably attracted the most attention was that of the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools. The two other Draft Reports, which had been approved by the Council in April, 1921, were accepted and approved with a minimum of fuss, but the Draft Report on the organisation of day schools was subjected, even at that late stage, to suggested changes of wording, although the substantive recommendations were not challenged.²⁵ The suggested changes, though cosmetic, were aimed at throwing light on the report's relation to Circular 44, and in this matter the Department was an interested party. MacGillivray had been unable to attend that meeting, but had sent under cover of a letter of apology certain proposed amendments to the text. The thrust of his comments "not framed in any carping spirit, but with a sincere desire to help"²⁶ was that the report should not suggest inferior academic treatment for the lower-achieving child beyond the "qualifying" stage, and that it should be made clear that the Advisory Council opposed the spirit of Circular

44 and the ideological framework on which its recommendations were based. He noted that where the draft read

..... that at the time /the Sub-Committee's recommendations were made/ the statement of the Department's policy contained in Circular 44 had not been published.²⁷

He would prefer

..... The Council regret that the developments foreshadowed in Circular 44 were formulated by the Department without awaiting the reports of the Committee specially instituted to consider these and related questions.²⁸

adding by way of explanation that

As framed the words convey a wrong impression. If the Department had formulated their policy before the Committees commenced work the Committees would never have commenced work
.....

I am not anxious to press the point against the Department, and would be quite content to have (b) /the original sentence/ deleted altogether. But if it goes in it must be a statement of fact. My suggested words, I think, give that, but probably have too much of the censure about them.²⁹

But MacGillivray was not the only non-attending participant in the discussions on the wording of the final draft of the report. Macdonald had already seen the draft, and made comments on it before presenting his annotated copy to Armstrong, stating that

I have gone over this very carefully and think you have made the best of an extremely difficult business. I have made one or two suggestions in the margin. I do not know whether Sir Arthur Rose would be willing to consider the possibility of his inducing the Council to insert them. If that could be managed, a good deal of the mischief that the report might otherwise do would be counteracted.³⁰

Some of Macdonald's notes were in fact incorporated to the final version of the report as were some of his pencilled comments on MacGillivray's submission, which apparently had been subjected to Macdonald's scrutiny before being presented to the

Advisory Council. Where, for example, MacGillivray had suggested that at a critical point in the draft "For "Primary" read "Intermediate"", Macdonald had added "This is the ipsissima verba of the Report! We should not be justified in altering it"³¹ The final version steered the cautious course in this instance of referring to "the present Intermediate schools". But on the whole, the final agreed version incorporated more of Macdonald's amendments than MacGillivray's, and in discharging his obligation, Rose noted "I return herewith the "comparatively harmless" document which represents the expenditure of much mental effort, duly signed"³²

"Comparatively harmless" or not, the report of the Advisory Council still proved a source of discomfort to the Department. As Macdonald indicated in a memorandum to Novar, Munro's successor at the Scottish office as a result of the general election of 1922,

..... publication was virtually promised on more than one occasion by Mr Munro and we have had a good many enquiries from Education Authorities and others as to when they might expect to have the Report in their hands.³³

Publication was duly approved by Novar, providing for public scrutiny a statement in direct opposition to the Department's policy as set out in Circular 44. The document which Macdonald "should not have been sorry to relegate to a pigeon-hole"³⁴ was put on sale to the public because Munro had committed the Department to that course and because "If we refrained from issuing it, there would certainly be much adverse criticism. We should be told we were burking it simply because its conclusions were unacceptable."³⁵ The publication of the report by the SED was not, however, to be taken as an indication that the Department would support any of its conclusions. A preface was drawn up by Macdonald on 22nd January, 1923, noting that the publication of Advisory Council reports was to be regarded as exceptional, and that

As occasion arises, the Department will give careful consideration to the various suggestions which have a bearing on future policy. In the

meantime it is not necessary to indicate agreement or disagreement with any of them.³⁶

In spite of the Department having effectively gained control over the Sub-Committee on the organisation of day schools through the appointment of Rose as interim-convener, and that Macdonald had had a hand in the final wording of the report, the published document yet gave the SED little satisfaction.

It was not until the final meeting of the first Advisory Council that a further step was taken regarding its working relations with the Department. At this meeting, which had been planned mainly as an opportunity for Adamson to discuss educational policy with his formal advisers, and to bring the term of office of the first Council to a harmonious conclusion, Macdonald succeeded in gaining the Council's approval of a statement as to its "future usefulness". Adamson had been unable to attend this meeting, held in the comfort of Edinburgh's Caledonian Hotel, and Macdonald took the Secretary for Scotland's absence as an opportunity to talk informally with Council members on a wide range of educational topics. Significantly, the future of the Advisory Council was discussed, with the conclusion that

With regard to the future usefulness of the Advisory Council it was suggested that the value of the Council lay in the fact that it is an entirely unbiased body representing public opinion generally, with whom proposals for new departures in educational policy may be confidentially discussed before they are definitely determined on and publicly issued.³⁷

The full significance of this statement was not made clear until the second meeting of the second Advisory Council, some ten months later. At that meeting, the topic "Arrangements for future procedure" was brought up. These "Arrangements for future procedure" were justified as the practical implications of the first Council's statement of its own usefulness. The interpretation offered of this statement in the agenda prepared by Armstrong, who had been retained as Secretary of the Council, was

..... personal conference with representatives of the Department,

rather than the separate discussion of problems by the Council, and the subsequent submission of written reports or recommendations.³⁸

It was acknowledged, however, that since the Council had its own Chairman, this pointed to the intention "that they should sometimes meet for separate discussion among themselves".³⁹ The working procedure suggested was

1 That members should have beforehand a brief note on each subject for discussion so that they may be prepared to express their views upon it.

2 That normally the meeting should commence as a conference with representatives of the Department, who would explain in further detail the matters in regard to which the advice of the Council is desired.

3 That the Council should then, if it seemed desirable, deliberate amongst themselves as to what their advice should be, and

4 That they should afterwards be rejoined by the representatives of the Department, who would receive verbally the views of the Council, and continue the conference with them.

Any arrangements for obtaining information or referring particular points to small Committees would be made by agreement at the Conference, and the necessary steps would be taken by the Department.⁴⁰

If the Advisory Council were to accept these "Arrangements for future procedure" its dependency on the Department for an agenda would be formalised, the attendance of representatives of the Department would be institutionalised, and no written reports for publication would be produced. The practice of the later stages of the life of the first Council would be reaffirmed, the Department proposing the substance and framework of debate, and incorporating Advisory Council suggestions and amendments at its discretion in subsequent SED policy publications. At the meeting of 21st March, 1925, the Council accepted these arrangements

.... on the understanding that it would always be permissible for the Council to propose topics for discussion with the Department, and that it should be competent for members of the Council to submit such proposals through the Chairman.⁴¹

The assimilation of the work of the Council to the procedures of the Department with the Department's Secretary as final arbiter, was confirmed in two further ways at that meeting. Topics of enquiry had been agreed upon at the first meeting of the second Council. Among them were "The Dearth of Men Teachers" and "Adult Education". As part of the investigation as to reasons for the apparent shortage of men teachers, it was decided that a questionnaire should be sent to Education Authorities enquiring as to their preferred ratios of men to women teachers.⁴² But this decision was reversed at the March meeting. Rather than operate that eminently straightforward procedure, it was agreed that in his capacity as Secretary of the Department, Macdonald should enquire "semi-officially" of Chairmen of Education Authorities what the actual ratios of men to women was, the information to be relayed back to the Advisory Council.⁴³ The decision that the investigation into "Adult Education" should be conducted by a committee of the Council containing "outsiders" as well as Advisory Council members, was also overturned on the grounds that "..... if such a Committee is officially appointed it will expect its report to be published as did the last Sub-Committees".⁴⁴ These two decisions entailed that rather than stand as a mediating body between the Department and the educational constituencies, the Council was prepared to accept strong Departmental influence over its activities; and this ensured that the work of the Council would be given an even lower and less individualistic profile than otherwise would have been the case.

Although the closer control asserted by the Department over the second Council can be attributed in part to the generally demoralised state of Scottish educationists, and in part to the Department's assertiveness in the matter of control, one of the main factors facilitating that control was the new Chairman's eagerness to submit himself to Macdonald's guidance. At the first meeting of the second Council, Sir James Irvine, Principal of St Andrew's University, was elected Chairman of the Council, Rose not having been formally invited to become a member for another term of office, although a majority of members survived from the first Council. On the day after his election as

Chairman, Macdonald wrote to Irvine, urging "..... that the Council should be a real help to the Minister and not either an embarrassment to him or a fifth wheel in the coach",⁴⁵ and proposing a meeting at which Irvine's new role might be discussed. There was some delay before the meeting between the two men took place, and in the meantime they corresponded with each other by letter. Irvine stated that he had wanted "to ascertain in a private manner"⁴⁶ precisely how he could be useful to the Department on the Advisory Council, how he could "..... learn more of the way in which a body of men who are essentially enthusiastic but might, on occasions, be unpractical, can be steered so as to fit in with the work of an organised Department".⁴⁷ Irvine was apparently in need of some assistance in interpreting the statutory constitution of the Council, and in a later letter he appealed to Macdonald in these terms:-

I am very anxious to have a discussion regarding the Advisory Council. It is not very clear from the Order where their powers begin and end, and I can see that a body of this kind might either be very useful or an intolerable nuisance. Naturally I want it to be a help to you, but I can sense that a firm hand will be needed to make the Council effective.⁴⁸

At the meeting between Irvine and Macdonald which eventually took place, the Principal was presumably initiated to the mystery of "the firm hand", as the Council for the duration of its term of office gave only faint glimmers of being made up of "men who are essentially enthusiastic". In fact, acceptance of the Department's "Arrangements for future procedure" together with an over-williness to defer to Departmental suggestions, had a debilitating effect on the second Council's effectiveness as an advice-giving body of an independent cast of mind. Work on several minor remits proceeded in full Council, almost always with Macdonald in attendance, and in committees of the Council, but with ponderous slowness. Various reasons could be found for delaying on the remit left over from the first Council "Consideration of the Curriculum of the Primary School" – a short note from Irvine to Macdonald in 1927 indicating progress since 1925 :- "Primary School Curriculum –

agreed to delay still further".⁴⁸ Even when conclusions were reached, the Council seemed at a loss to know what further steps should be taken. Having made a series of half-hearted recommendations as to how "The Dearth of Men Teachers" might be resolved, the reporting sub-committee noted "It is not for the Council to suggest how these improved prospects /as recommended/ could be provided".⁵⁰ The sub-committee undertaking an enquiry into the development and organisation of "Adult Education" prepared a draft report which was amended and adopted by the Council at its meeting of March, 1926, but, almost certainly at the suggestion of the Department, further action was deferred until the universities' attitude to the proposals had been received. Taking up the Advisory Council's remit and "leaked" proposals, the universities produced their own version of the Advisory Council's scheme, and followed it up with action to establish provincial councils to co-ordinate adult education on a provincial basis. Commenting on this, Joseph Duncan, who had served on the Advisory Council's Sub-Committee on Adult Education, noted in October, 1928,

If the Report had been passed at the time it was presented by the Committee or even a reasonable interval thereafter, it would have done something to co-ordinate activities in adult education in Scotland. At that time the initiative would have been with the Council or the Department. Now the Universities have taken their own courses,⁵¹

Throughout the twenties the activities of the Advisory Council were, in fact, characterised by delay, hesitation, and lack of resolution to influence central policy.

The emasculation of the Advisory Council after the release of Circular 44 is ironic. For it was precisely during the period that the Scottish Council was being weakened that the Consultative Committee in England increased its power and enhanced its reputation. During the course of 1923, the Consultative Committee secured the *de facto* right to make its own proposals to the Board with regard to the terms of remits, and as a consequence of discussions between Selby-Bigge and members of the Consultative Committee, the English body embarked on the remit which resulted in the Hadow report of 1926.⁵² For the remainder of the inter-war period the

Consultative Committee continued to produce stimulating reports, advocating radical changes in national policy for nursery, primary, and secondary education. In the same period, the Scottish Advisory Council was supplied with a number of inconsequential remits, ensuring that whatever advice was offered, it would not arouse widespread controversy nor would it impinge on the main lines of policy established by the codes of 1923. In the inter-war period, both the Board of Education and the SED seemed to regard their main function as the management of educational economies rather than that of fostering educational advance. In England, while the Board concerned itself with problems of administration, the role of planning future long-term policy fell to the Consultative Committee, but in Scotland, the Department succeeded in restricting the Advisory Council to considering topics of only marginal interest, and in closely monitoring its deliberations. What had become clear in 1922, and was becoming increasingly more obvious in the mid-1920s, was that the Advisory Council's right to an independent point of view had been denied it, and that it had ceased to deal with matters in the mainstream of educational thought.

There were, however, still pressing problems to be tackled by Scottish educationists. There was yet considerable "wastage" from the secondary course, and the new advanced division courses were hardly proving more successful than the supplementary courses which they had replaced. "Wastage" in the secondary schools was caused by early leaving and by the mis-selection of pupils, and another of the reasons for the failure of the advanced division courses was unsatisfactory course design, a problem exacerbated by the fact that pupils generally spent much less than the notional three years in post-primary education. The problem of establishing a three-year course as the norm could only be solved by fixing the date of entry and release from the advanced division course. The virtual suppression of the initiative of the Advisory Council, the body brought into existence expressly to advise on matters such as these, meant that those who would have naturally looked to the Council now looked elsewhere.

In fact, Scottish educationists were left largely to seek their own salvation. By 1928, steps had been taken by the EIS, the Education Authorities, and the newly-founded Association of Directors of Education in Scotland (ADES), to establish the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) nearly twenty years before the National Foundation for Educational Research, the counterpart body in England, was established. The Department did not take an active part in setting up the Research Council,⁵³ which soon undertook enquiries into problems which confronted its joint founders. Chief among those problems was that of devising appropriate curricula for advanced division courses, the Department having given little guidance on this matter. Most of the authorities had been able to adapt the old intermediate course to produce adequate schemes of work for pupils attempting the Day Schools Certificate (Higher), but there had been a distinct lack of progress made in providing for early leavers, who were the great majority of those attending the advanced division courses. As early as 1925, it had become clear in the Western Division that planning for courses had been complicated by uncertainty and lack of uniformity as to pupils' stay in school,⁵⁴ and Chief Inspector Jamieson, as Senior HMI in the Southern Division, noted in 1926, that "The education of the "slow pupil over 13" is a problem now".⁵⁵ When the SCRE produced its "Curriculum for pupils of 12 to 15 years (Advanced Divisions)"⁵⁶ in 1931, it went some way towards satisfying a clamant need. In addition to contributing to curriculum development the SCRE also conducted its first national mental survey in 1932, reflecting the developing interest in Scotland in mental tests, which were increasingly being added to the repertoire of instruments for the selection of pupils for appropriate forms of post-primary education.

The driving force behind mental testing in Scotland was Godfrey Thomson, Professor of Education at Edinburgh University and head of the Moray House Training Centre from 1925. Under Thomson, sets of tests were produced at Moray House and made available to authorities wishing to use them for the purpose of selection for secondary education. Authorities, in fact, differed considerably in their methods of promoting

pupils and the instruments they chose to contribute to the selection process, but by the mid-1930s, most were using some form of mental testing in their endeavours to implement a policy of "clean cut". The "clean cut", or transfer out of the primary stage for all pupils at about age 12, had increasingly become an objective of authorities, who were seeking to establish post-primary courses of at least two years' duration.

Complementing the work of Thomson in Edinburgh was that of William Boyd at Glasgow University. Boyd had not only been a prominent figure in encouraging educational research by members of the EIS, but he had also been one of the principals influential in the establishment of the Research Council, although not involved in the detailed discussion and negotiations for its establishment. Throughout this period his influence on Scottish education cannot be measured simply in terms of tangible contributions. More so than Thomson, Boyd was a source of inspiration to younger members of the profession, his Saturday morning BEd classes apparently having a profound effect on a generation of future policy makers in Scottish education.⁵⁷ Largely as a result of Boyd's efforts, as will be seen in Chapter 4, Scottish education was brought in touch with the internationally developing "progressivism".

The education authorities themselves, the SCRE, Boyd, Thomson, and others contributed to making more satisfactory some of the conditions entailed in the establishing of the advanced divisions, but the problem of raising the school leaving age was a political one, and as such, it was waged on a UK basis, with England rather than Scotland setting the pace. When the second Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald took office in 1929 there were again hopes for educational advance, mainly regarding the possibility of an "appointed day" being announced for the raising of the school leaving age. These hopes, however, like those expressed on the election of the first Labour government, proved short lived. It was not until 1934, when "The School Age Council" was set up, that effective pressure was applied to spur government to action on the matter. Chaired by John Buchan, a Conservative member for the Scottish universities, and counting among its members the Archbishop of Canterbury

and a number of former Cabinet Ministers, and industrialists as well as MPs from all sides of the House, this alliance, drawn mainly from English sources, succeeded in forwarding its views by deputation on MacDonald, again Prime Minister, though this time of a National Government, in 1935. The efforts of propagandists in the 1930s eventually bore rather sour fruit in the Scottish and English Acts of 1936, which set the "appointed day" at 1st September, 1939, but yet allowed exemptions to a leaving age of 15. The interest groups in Scottish education had not taken a leading part in campaigning for the raising of the leaving age, although in 1934, the EIS and the WEA in Scotland, acted together to organise a series of four Regional Conferences on the topic.⁵⁸

What is noticeable, is that in the years since 1923, neither the Department nor the Advisory Council had been involved with the issues that had been to the fore in Scottish education. The SCRE was constitutionally independent of the Department, as were the university departments of education, and the campaign for the raising of the school leaving age had an English, rather than a Scottish power-base. Neither the Department nor its Advisory Council were taking a leading part in addressing the contemporary problems of Scottish education, and, compared with its effectiveness under Struthers, the SED, like its Advisory Council, appeared to be in some danger of becoming merely a marginal body.

Some hope for a more participatory attitude on the part of the Department might have been expected when Sir George Macdonald was replaced by William McKechnie as Secretary of the Department in 1929, but, although reputedly a breath of fresh air in the corridors of the Department,⁵⁹ McKechnie did little to bring either the SED or the Advisory Council to an involvement with the main interests of the Scottish educational community. In spite of the appointment of McKechnie as Secretary of the Department at about the time that the third Council took office, it exercised only marginally more influence than its immediate predecessor had done. McKechnie was a less regular attender at Advisory Council meetings than Macdonald had been, and he saw less

need for face to face discussion or the verbal response rather than the written report, but like Macdonald before him, he determined which topics the Council would discuss. At the first meeting of the third Council, McKechnie presented it with a set of remits which they could arrange in order of priority at their own discretion. These remits, however, in keeping with the by now established pattern, were quite peripheral to the main concerns of Scottish educationists.⁶⁰ One of these, however, on the organisation of continuation classes, gave rise to a situation which resulted in the suspension of the Council's activities for a period of two years.

It was determined at the Council meeting of September, 1931, that a questionnaire should be sent out to directors of education enquiring as to their difficulties in organising continuation classes, particularly in rural areas, and "how far /these difficulties/ could be mitigated by administrative action".⁶¹ This implied encouragement of "administrative action" could not have been made at a worse time. The May Committee had reported in July of that year recommending cuts in education as in other services,⁶² and the Department was apprehensive as to where continuing with this remit might lead. Accordingly, on 29th September, 1931, McKechnie wrote to Sir Archibald Sinclair, then Secretary of State for Scotland in Ramsay MacDonald's National Government, a rather reactionary Minister who would certainly approve McKechnie's action,

I have thought it necessary, at this time to acquaint myself with the present activities of the Advisory Council, in order to ensure that these should be in accord with the general policy of the Department in the existing conditions of emergency,

I learn that the Council, at their meeting on 17th September gave further consideration to the question whether any changes in the Continuation Class system are desirable with a view to encouraging the more profitable employment of leisure among all classes of the community. They have drafted a circular and questionnaire to all Directors of Education in Scotland, a copy of which I have seen. These certainly give the impression of a desire to stimulate activity amongst Education Authorities in the provision of the widest possible range of Continuation Classes. While the object might be entirely praiseworthy in normal times I feel strongly that we cannot consistently attempt to further it by such means at the present time. In point of fact, this is one of the directions in which Education Authorities are seeking for possible

economies, and there is little doubt that in this field certain economies can be made with comparatively slight educational loss.⁶³

Clearly, the Council was not going to be permitted to continue with this enquiry. McKechnie's acquainting himself with the business of the Council led him to the conclusion that he might suggest "a suspension of the Council's activities in this direction until the national situation permits of further educational advance".⁶⁴ The discontinuance of Council activity was in fact to be a general one, not limited to any particular enquiry, and at a meeting between McKechnie and J B Clark, the Chairman of the Council, agreement was secured for a suspension of the work of the third Council. One Council member supported this move,⁶⁵ and none documented opposition to it. Between October, 1931 and September, 1933, the third Advisory Council was rendered inactive.

The suspension of Advisory Council activities, however, was not publicly mourned. For over a decade, it had exercised little influence over educational policy, and hopes for radical reform of education that had been invested in it on its establishment had soon evaporated. Although the ambiguity regarding the Council's right to choose its own remits had been resolved in the Council's favour as the price of its accepting Macdonald's "Arrangements for future procedure" in 1925, only one attempt had been made by a Council member to exercise that right. Surprisingly, however, in view of the fact that the Consultative Committee had recently produced the Hadow Report of 1926, the proposal made was not that the Council should report on a matter of major policy but that it should make recommendations on a minor point, the difference in standard between the Leaving Certificate Examinations and the University Preliminary Examinations, both of which were taken as university entrance qualifications. Clearly, not even Council members themselves felt that it was appropriate for them to tackle major issues, so effective had been Macdonald's domination of the Council.⁶⁶

In fact, the Department had become so confident of its position *vis-a-vis* the Advisory Council that the first calls that it should be re-convened after the worst effects of the

May Committee's report had been weathered came not from the interest groups, whose point of view the Advisory Council ought, in theory, to express, but from the Department itself. At the suggestion of William Peck, then Second Secretary of the Department, a resumption of the Council's activity was proposed in January, 1933.⁶⁷ The problem of the co-ordination of the public library services, a long-standing item on the Advisory Council's list of proposed topics for enquiry, had not been taken up, and Peck was of the opinion that the time might be opportune for a Special Committee of the Advisory Council to undertake this remit, and that the Council might also enquire into the topical question of whether the teaching profession should become an all-graduate one. With regard to the libraries question, McKechnie, however, did not immediately take steps to re-activate the Council, and it was not until July of that year that McKechnie made a formal request of the Minister that the Council should be reconvened. A remit, to enquire into the courses of training available for women teachers under Chapter III of the Regulations, and to make recommendations, was made, and the Advisory Council met to discuss that remit in the early autumn of that year. Expert witnesses were interviewed, as had been the practice re-established in the third Council's term of office, a practice not followed since the publication of the first Council's report. A report was produced in July, 1934, and published later that year, the first Advisory Council report to have been submitted to public scrutiny for more than a decade, and effectively the last action of the third Council.

But the publication of this report was not a sign that the Council had been afforded extensive new powers or that its status in the structure of educational governance had been significantly upgraded. McKechnie's formal preface to the published report on the training of the woman primary school teacher suggests that that report was published "in response to a generally expressed desire",⁶⁸ but he reserved his own opinion as to its contents, noting that "the highly important questions involved are being carefully considered by the Department".⁷⁰ There had, however, been a more

specific prompt to opening the affairs of the Council to a wider audience than the "generally expressed desire" referred to by McKechnie. In March, 1934, Godfrey Collins, Sinclair's successor as Secretary of State for Scotland, enquired as to why the proceedings of the Council might not be usefully advertised. McKechnie's reply, which was accepted, did little other than justify secrecy as a tenet of the policy making procedure:-

We have always held the opinion that the work of this Council should be regarded as confidential, and some of the reasons for that view are stated in the following extracts from Minutes of the First Meeting of the First and Third Council.⁷⁰

These extracts referred to Council members as co-workers with the Department in the moulding of policy and quoted Munro and McKechnie himself, both insisting on the need for confidentiality as a basis of the relationship between Council and Department. McKechnie's reply includes the comment

We have always attached such importance to the confidential nature of the deliberations of the Council that, even within the office, papers dealing with its business are circulated in a closed cover marked 'confidential'.⁷¹

Whatever the merits of confidentiality in dealings between the Council and the Department, and the wisdom of circulating papers in closed covers marked 'confidential', McKechnie saw fit to publish the report on which the Council was currently engaged.

In spite of the novelty of publication of a report, and that this precedent was sustained, in the conduct of its business, the Council remained responsive to Departmental initiative. At its first meeting early in 1935, the fourth Council was presented with a remit on the position of technical education within the day school system and its relationship to industries requiring a high degree of technical knowledge and ability. This remit had emanated from a concern within the Board of Education and the Department, a concern that had been expressed on a number of

occasions since the middle of the nineteenth century, that Britain was falling behind Continental rivals in developing an education system suited to a highly-industrialised society. The minute of the first meeting of the fourth Council indicates the origins of the remit, that the question of technical education

..... had already been agitating the minds of educationists in this and other countries. Hence the desire of the S of S to be more closely informed as to the position in certain continental countries. In fulfilment of that desire Mr McKechnie visited France and Holland in 1933 and in the following year Mr Peck attended the International Congress on Technical Education in Barcelona.⁷²

The attendance of Peck, now Secretary of the Department, at the International Congress in Barcelona did not, however, result in him taking an active part in the Council's investigations, and the Department did not "feed in" or recommend memoranda or publications as a starting point for the Council's enquiries as had been the case on the first Council undertaking its remits. The detailed proceedings were in fact resolved by Council members themselves. After the first meeting attended by Peck and the Under-Secretary of State, the Council took evidence from expert witnesses, made trips abroad to see at first hand what arrangements had been made elsewhere, and discussed points among themselves. A small drafting committee under the leadership of J Cameron Smail, Principal of the Heriot Watt College, undertook the writing of the report, which recommended an upgrading of the status of technical education in Scottish schools, and increased allocation of time to technical subjects, but set its face against narrow vocational training. A report on these lines won the approval of the Advisory Council by late 1936, except that one member dissented at the recommendation that the existing course of secondary education should be altered in any way before the statutory leaving age.⁷³ On the recommendation of Peck, a recommendation endorsed by Walter Elliot as Secretary of State, the report was published in 1937, with a note of reservation by Provost Biggar of Glasgow, the dissenting member.

The procedure of presenting one remit at a time to be dealt with by the Council without direct involvement by the Department seemed to be acceptable to the Department in the mid-thirties, resulting in the Council producing detailed reports on matters that required thorough investigation, and were on the current educational agenda. It was over a year, however, after the submission of the report on technical education that the Department saw fit to again solicit the assistance of the Advisory Council, Peck suggesting that it should tackle the problem of the staggering of school holidays. In the spring of 1938, this matter had been discussed in Parliament, and a Committee had reported on "Holidays with Pay". The Advisory Council was called to a meeting with the Department in June, 1938 to discuss the new remit, and lines of enquiry were agreed upon. Little progress, however, was made with that remit, owing to succeeding international crises and the ultimate outbreak of war, these occurrences having an effect which reverberated through all branches of the Civil Service and its committees. By the time that the fourth Council's term of office expired in October, 1939, its consideration of the remit had not proceeded far enough to enable it to submit a report.

The fifth Council was, in fact, constituted formally on 1st November of that year, but in the light of other national priorities, the activities of the Council were allowed to lapse. The Department's own record of the fate of the fifth Council is concise.

There has been no subsequent remit to the Council, whose members are, however, kept continuously in touch with the Department's activities.⁷⁴

And no more was heard of the Advisory Council until definite procedures for formulating policies for post-war Reconstruction were solicited from the SED in 1942.

It would seem, however, that in the mid- and later 1930s the Department had begun to make better use of the Advisory Council than it had done in the years 1923 to 1931. More freedom was accorded the Council than Macdonald had allowed it, and the last remit it dealt with "Technical Education in the Day School System of Scotland"

was clearly one of considerable importance, considering that it came at a time when Britain was about to re-arm. Within the Council itself, personalities were beginning to emerge who were prepared to take an active and dominant part in matters such as drafting reports, interviewing witnesses and chairing sub-committees. Most prominent among these was Cameron Smail, Principal of the Heriot Watt College, who gave considerable leadership though he was never Chairman, (but Interim Chairman for a short spell in 1936). Other productive contributors to the work of the Council in the 1930's were Dr P Comrie, Headmaster of Leith Academy, and Garnet Wilson, Chairman of the Dundee Education Committee, Comrie in particular showing great enthusiasm over "Character Training and Physical Education in Schools".

Significantly absent from the ranks of Advisory Council membership, however, were the most influential educationists of their day: Boyd, who in the 1930s was still enthusiastically spreading the gospel of "progressivism" in Scotland, Europe and America; Thomson, whose Moray House tests were being used throughout the world; and Robert Rusk, the first director of the SCRE, were all notable absentees from the Council. Even William McClelland, who during the late 1930s was conducting the research which would lead to his authoritative book "Selection for Secondary Education",⁷⁵ was not invited to become a member of the Advisory Council until it was re-constituted in 1942. By ignoring the claims of the most respected figures in Scottish education to be members of the Council, the Secretary of State could hardly be considered to be seeking the best advice available to him.

In spite of Peck's commending the 1937 report on technical education to Walter Elliot as "a valuable document",⁷⁶ and his declaring that he was prepared to exert "special pains to secure good publicity for it",⁷⁷ his attitude to the Advisory Council was yet a patronising one. In 1933, in the minute that he had sent McKechnie advocating a resumption of the Advisory Council's activities, he noted "And by giving /the Advisory Council/ two important pieces of work we increase its sense of responsibility and usefulness".⁷⁸ A partial rehabilitation of the Advisory Council had taken place since it

had been re-convened in 1933, but the status accorded it was considerably less than its original sponsors had envisaged for it. When John Mackay Thomson, Peck's successor as Secretary of the Department, first suggested in 1941 that the Advisory Council be recalled to assist the Department in planning the reconstruction of Scottish education for the post-war period,⁷⁹ the body with which he was familiar was one which had a proven track record. It could now apparently be relied upon to produce reports, like those on the training of the woman primary school teacher and the position of technical education in the curriculum, which would command the approval of the Department. The Advisory Council of the thirties posed no threat to the Department's overall control of educational policy, and there was nothing to suggest that any future Council would do so.

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Chapter 4

Progressivism, Consensus, and Educational "Reconstruction"

In the inter-war years hopes for educational advance were invested mainly in efforts to extend the duration of school life and to expand the provision of secondary education. These objectives were eventually attained for England by the Education Act of 1944¹ and for Scotland by that of 1945,² both of which legislated for the raising of the statutory leaving age to 15, a measure enacted on 1st April, 1947. There had been, however, Acts passed in 1936³ setting an appointed day for the raising of the school leaving age to 15 on 1st September, 1939, but this arrangement was set aside soon after the declaration of war against Nazi Germany. Irrespective of the appointed day being set aside, the Scottish Act, like the English one, had contributed little to educational advance. The main weaknesses of these Acts were that they did not offer maintenance allowances to pupils who would be most in need of them to complete the extra year of education to be made available, and that they allowed exemptions to the new statutory leaving age, which did not in fact become effective until after the war.

The Acts of 1936 were a great disappointment to those active in advocating educational reform. The EIS had supported the raising of the leaving age to 15 without exemptions for beneficial employment, and they regarded maintenance allowances as essential to enable necessitous children to continue in attendance to the higher age.⁴ All the members of the Association of Counties of Cities, except Aberdeen, were against exemptions,⁵ and most of the other interest groups as well as "The School Age Council" saw little point in raising the leaving age to 15 if the majority of pupils would not be obliged to remain at school until that age. Referred to by the NUT as a Bill that "offered the shadow and withheld the substance"⁶ of an extension of school life, the English measure gave little satisfaction. Attacking the Scottish Bill, Tom

Johnston, who was to become Secretary of State for Scotland in 1941, regretted that that Bill could offer no more hope for educational expansion than the English one had done. The inability of Scottish education to do other than follow the English lead, as had been claimed by the Department's critics in 1924, now seemed an established fact. Johnston declared in the Commons that there was "an air of unreality"⁷ about the debate on the Scottish measure.

Parliament has already approved the raising of the school-leaving age without maintenance allowances in the case of the English Bill and in so far as we can only spend eleven-eightieths of the money allocated to England we are more or less tied up to the decisions taken by this house a week ago.⁸

Most distressing to Scottish educational opinion, however, was not that the Scottish Act slavishly followed the English one, but that neither Act had been able to meet what were regarded by many as extremely modest demands.

In spite of its deficiencies and the disappointment that the terms of the Act had engendered, this Scottish Act provided the SED with a framework for their own plans to reorganise post-primary education on a minimum of three year courses. These plans were embodied in the Day Schools (Scotland) Code of 1939.⁹ The main effect of this Code, which replaced the existing Day Schools Code and Secondary Schools Regulations, was to collapse the multiplicity of arrangements and terms relating to pupils above the age of 12. Two-year Advanced Divisions, Three-year Advanced Divisions, Higher Grade Schools, Intermediate Schools and Secondary Schools, all became the secondary stage of education. The conceptual distinction between primary and secondary education was re-defined – in terms of stages of education rather than kinds. In its report "Secondary Education", the Advisory Council recognised the achievement of the new Code.

At last secondary education was recognised for what it is – a stage in the schooling of every child, not a particular kind of education to be provided for some but not for all.¹⁰

In the new Code, which implemented the ideal of the Hadow Report well before England attempted similar reform on a national scale, the general organisation prescribed for post-primary pupils was a bipartite one:-

The secondary division with alternative courses for pupils leaving at 15 years of age and those remaining till 17 or 18.

Promotion from the primary to the secondary division generally at or about the age of 12 years.

A Junior Leaving Certificate to testify to the satisfactory completion of an approved three-year secondary course.

A Senior Leaving Certificate to testify to the satisfactory completion of an approved five-year secondary course.¹¹

The three-year course leading to the Junior Leaving Certificate was conceived as one suitable for pupils not intending entry to the professions or higher ranks of industry. Accordingly, it was to be regarded not as an abbreviation of the five-year secondary course, but as complete in itself with a character of its own. The certificate at which the three-year course was directed, the Junior Leaving Certificate, was to be awarded by local authorities on the recommendation of HMI, but based mainly on the school record of the pupil and on the teachers' estimates. With regard to the five-year secondary course and the related Senior Leaving Certificate, subject "groups" comprising approved courses leading to presentation for the Certificate, were made more flexible by Circular 62 of 1939.¹² Within the secondary stage, the guiding rationale of examination policy moved tentatively, and to a very limited extent, in the direction of pupils being awarded certificates on courses that were appropriate to their individual capacities.

The raising of the school leaving age and the expansion of secondary education, were not, however, the only reforming measures perceived necessary in the inter-war years. There was also expressed through Britain as a whole, a strong desire that developments in child psychology be taken into account in the practice of teaching, and that traditional curricula and expectations of schooling be submitted to review.

Many of those professionally involved in education were looking not only to an expansion of provision but also to a revitalisation of schooling to be achieved by the adoption of a "progressive" ideology. And their aspirations were not without foundation, for in 1931 and 1933, the Consultative Committee had supported "progressive" thinking in its reports on the education of the primary and pre-primary age groups.¹³ Those seeking reform in the substance of education on "progressive" lines, however, were not rewarded by legitimation of their proposals in terms of Acts of Parliament or departmental codes, as the "leaving age" reformers were. Although given recognition in the reports of the Consultative Committee and later in the reports "Primary Education"¹⁴ and "Secondary Education"¹⁵ of the wartime Advisory Council, their ideals would only be adopted according to Government's responses to the reports. The contribution of contemporary forms of "progressivism" in England and Scotland immediately before the war, cannot, however, simply be assessed in terms of the adoption of its ideals in the post-war period. British "progressivism" as it manifested itself in the immediate pre-war period acted as a catalyst for, if not indeed an active agent in, the movement for the proposed reconstruction of education on democratic lines.

Although manifesting itself in a multiplicity of forms, and in many countries throughout the world, perhaps the main vehicle of "progressivism" in education was "The New Fellowship in Education". Founded in 1921, this international association was formed with the intention of advancing the cause of child-centred education. With that end in view, a biennial conference was held, and a quarterly magazine, the English title of which was "The New Era",¹⁶ was produced. Among the "Principles" of the New Fellowship, published on the back cover of each edition of the magazine, were that the educator must respect the child's individuality and his innate interests at all times, and that the system of discipline in schools should be based on self-discipline, rendering external authority unnecessary. Co-operation among pupils was also emphasised, the "Principles" demanding that

The spirit of selfish competition must be discouraged in every possible way and the child must be taught to substitute for it a spirit of co-operation¹⁷

In its earliest years, the New Fellowship, certainly among its English-speaking membership, displayed a certain mystical preciousness and dangerous naivete. The editor of "The New Era", Beatrice Ensor, joint Principal of Frensham Heights, a "Co-educational Boarding School for Boys and Girls practising the new Ideals in Education"¹⁸ described the Third International Conference held in Heidelberg in ecstatic terms. There she experienced the Fellowship as "a great reservoir of force in the Collective Unconscious"¹⁹ which could be drawn upon by individual members.

In moments of loneliness and discouragement a member can feel that the strength of the whole Fellowship is with him. The power which flows from union will enter into him and a new vitality infuse itself into all his works. He can contact, through his unconscious, the ideas and inspiration of the other members and gain enrichment.²⁰

While her para-normal response to the conference was innocent enough, if somewhat surprising in an educationist, much more disturbing was her attitude to German Youth movements, "young people, beautiful in body, fired with idealism, seeking much of their inspiration from Comradeship, Nature and Music. In their easy velvet suits and simple but quaintly fashioned frocks they symbolised for some of us much of the new attitude to life which we are striving to bring into expression".²¹ Equally disturbing, considering future events in Germany, was her judgment on comparative education, that "Many pitfalls await the pioneer who would seek to impose education suitable to the Anglo-Saxon temperament upon, say, the Indians or the Egyptians. Each nation has its own characteristics which must not only be respected but used in its education".²²

In the late 1920s, however, the New Fellowship had established for itself a position and reputation free from intimations from the supernatural and, had moved, commendably, towards opposition to totalitarian youth organisations. It was, in fact, in

the later twenties that the New Education reasserted its founding philosophy, and gained wider support among educationists in colleges and universities as well as private institutions. By 1929, Godfrey Thomson, Professor of Education at Edinburgh University was subscribing to "The New Era", and among the contributors were Sir Fred Clarke, Sir Michael Sadler, Percy Nunn, and A S Neill. At the Helsingor Conference in 1929, William Boyd delivered an address. Wide support for Dewey-ism was confirmed at that Conference, and William H Kilpatrick had expounded his "Philosophy of the Curriculum" in the April edition of "The New Era" that year, declaring that

We do not know the problems our children will face, still less do we know the answers to their problems. Instead of preparing them for a situation pretendedly known in advance, we must prepare them to take care of themselves in an unknown and changing future.²³

So well-established and reputable had "progressivism" become, that in 1931 "The New Era" could claim "The new education envisaged ten years ago is no longer new; it has become a body of principles generally accepted by liberal educators everywhere".²⁴

Having firmly asserted its principles and respectability, "progressivism" went on the offensive, generally condemning traditional forms of education, and advocating greater emphasis on music, dance, art and handicrafts in the curriculum, and that at all times the child should be treated not as an adult in miniature but as a developing human being to be guided towards self-fulfilment. While no established educational systems were free from the criticism of "progressives" the most scathing attacks were made on those "created with the express purpose of inflating nationalism".²⁵ As early as 1931, "The New Era" was devoting whole issues to education for international citizenship, co-operation in education as insurance against war, and the teaching of world geography as a means to fuller understanding of other peoples. The shrewdly aware Boyd, in a series of articles in 1933, noted that

..... the real issue is whether we are to be determined by social movements or whether social movements are to be determined by us.²⁶

For Boyd, the balance of power was to be denied "social movements" and kept in the hands of those whose priority was the education of the individual: "progressivism" in education was to be firmly wedded to the democratic ideal of valuing the individual for his own sake. But it was not until some years later that "progressives" in British education began explicitly to identify their educational beliefs with their commitment to democracy. At a conference under the auspices of the New Fellowship in Cheltenham in 1936, the theme was "Education and a Free Society". At that conference a series of attacks was mounted against schooling in dictatorships, and most of the set lectures hinged on two points, the achievement of the free personality, and the relation between the individual and society.²⁷ The aims of the League of Nations became incorporated to those of the new education, and in "The New Era" of November, 1936,²⁸ there was a report on the first Conference of the International Peace Campaign held in Brussels. Earlier that year, Fred Clarke had set out in a paper, "The State: Master or Servant" his list of unacceptable features of the totalitarian state, expressing his belief that such a system of government was inimical to the proper aims of education.²⁹ In the very next issue of "The New Era", now published monthly, William McClelland in an article, "Social Aspects of the Teacher's Preparation" added his criticism of the baleful effects on education produced by certain attitudes encouraged in totalitarian States, and in some British schools.

Only the blind or the perverse could fail to see that one of the social dangers of our time is the prevalence of certain qualities, for whose propagation our schools are not exempt from a measure of responsibility – qualities like submissiveness, blind receptiveness, taking one's views on trust, or from tradition, susceptibility to suggestion. It is only in a rank growth of such mental weeds that unscrupulous armament and militarist interests could so organise the other bestial elements in a nation as to get the upper hand: and what the world needs to-day is citizens who can think for themselves and hold their own views, albeit in a gentlemanly way.³⁰

Indeed, in the late thirties, the aims of "progressives" in British education had begun to merge with those of others influential and articulate in British society. Not only was

it the case that prominent intellectuals like W H Auden were beginning to contribute to the journal of educational progressivism,³¹ but educationists were performing the reciprocal task, making their views clear in periodicals and pamphlets that were, strictly, outwith the educational province.³² But with the same aim in mind, that democracy as an institution was to be valued, and worked for. In the immediate pre-war years there was, in fact, a degree of consensus among those who formed opinion in the country, despite the overt disagreements which the party system encouraged. From this consensus "there arose the ideological structure which took Britain safely through the forties and brought her to rest in the fifties".³³

Four main sources of this consensus can be traced. First, there had been the experiment of Ramsay MacDonald's enforced National Government, an administration of expediency, but nevertheless, a response on the part of the nation as a whole to what had been regarded as a disaster that could only be dealt with by extraordinary measures.

The historical importance of the National Labour Committee, the formal title of the body of Labour supporters of /Ramsay MacDonald's National Government/, is that it served in the early thirties as a central point around which the exponents of the ideas of political agreement could cohere.³⁴

Although despised by many Labour MPs deeply committed to that Party's founding ideology, its own supporters saw the National Labour Committee as the body taking up the middle ground of British politics, and as an instrument of national unity. And perhaps with some justification, if the fact that some Conservative MPs saw fit to contribute to National Labour's "News-Letter" be regarded as evidence. Godfrey Elton, a National Labour MP certainly had no doubts in the matter.

In the years to come Labour will be offered its last and greatest opportunity of uniting against a system which is falling into visible decay all those who desire the justice and order of modernized society.³⁵

The second factor conducive to co-operation in domestic affairs was the highly

charged political situation in Europe. The apparent efficiency of militant Fascism and Communism had to be challenged by the democracies, who had to demonstrate that they could conduct their societies and economies as well as the dictators could. The presence of aggressive and highly competitive rivals abroad encouraged a spirit of co-operation at home, emphasising the need to unite against a potential common enemy. Harold Macmillan, one of the Conservative MPs who had contributed to National Labour's "Newsletter", declared strongly that the democracies had to modify their social and economic systems to come to terms with the times.

The great need of the moment is not only for a policy of action to deal with a pressing situation, but for a new theory of social and economic organisation which will facilitate the evolution towards a new economic situation suitable to the changed circumstances of the modern world.³⁶

Macmillan's contention was that only if a course of gradualist, but nonetheless radical evolution were embarked upon, would revolutionary violence be obviated. His commitment to consensus was essentially a pragmatic one.

The policy we are seeking will only be satisfactory if it goes deep enough to correct the maladjustments and reconcile the disharmonies from which our problems arise. But, if revolutionary violence is to be avoided, it must also make its appeal to a sufficiently broad strip of public opinion to ensure the support for its adoption. It must be at once radical and popular.³⁷

Closely related to the fear of eclipsing political systems from abroad was a sense of commitment to the collective security implied by the League of Nations. Within the UK there was a League of Nations Union which was made up of supporters of the Labour Party in the main, but which served as a focal point for those, including educational "progressives", who wished to express support for the League's ideals. Among its honorary presidents in the thirties there were politicians of all the major parties. With the increasing likelihood of war in the late 1930s, the League was looked to as a body which enshrined the principles of the future Allies.

In addition to there being heightened awareness of the need for co-operation both within the country and among the democratic nations, there was also a growing realisation that science would play an increasingly important part in the lives of people. If the non-totalitarian countries were to survive militarily or economically they must unite their citizens under the banner of technological advance. There was no longer wide support for Edwardian arguments that the study of science was inimical to a liberal education. Commitment to scientific advance became a unifying force.

Marwick³⁸ argues that the four factors which, to a greater or lesser extent produced a perceived need for national consensus also prompted the founding of influential groups which drew their support from no one political party or sector of society but acted as the mouthpieces of a radical centre which advocated a new non-partisan approach to the economic and social problems of the age. He refers in some detail to PEP (Political and Economic Planning) and to "The Next Five Years" group, but he might well also have drawn attention to the activities of "The School Age Council", or the Saltire Society and the National Development Council in Scotland, each of which had in common with PEP and "The Next Five Years Group", the fact that they attracted cross-party support, political figures and others influential in strictly non-political fields who were prepared for specific purposes to subordinate their party political or other interests to commitment to the causes of the pressure group. Several of those active in the "consensus movement" were in fact members of more than one committee or group, expressing their desire for reform on several fronts.

PEP, in fact, had little to contribute to educational debate, in spite of having Kenneth Lindsay as an active member. The group's main concern was industrial and economic regeneration, although it did also show an interest in housing, the social services, and public health. The "Next Five Years" group, on the other hand, which counted Tom Johnston, later to become Secretary of State for Scotland among its members, had a definite policy on educational development.

In the volume "The Next Five Years", the group recognised education as a service to which all should have fairer access, "It is essential to lessen the distance between the extremes of wealth and of educational, and other, opportunity",³⁹ it declared. The immediate educational priority of the group, however, was that the school-leaving age be raised to 15 without delay. With regard to the statutory leaving age, the book referred to a survey conducted by the Directors of Education in England, which concluded that, owing to falling rolls in schools, the raising of the school-leaving age could be effected without pressure on the national exchequer. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the raising of the leaving age would make a positive contribution to the problem of youth unemployment, the extra year to be spent in school thinning the ranks of the queues in Labour Exchanges. No ultimate aim as to the limits to which education might be developed were recognised in "The Next Five Years", but, with regard to immediate priorities,

The goal to which we must attain within a very few years, for which we should be making immediate plans, is whole-time education until 16 and part-time education until 18 for every child.⁴⁰

The administrative priorities of nearly all of the appeals for educational reform in this period, as has already been noted, were that the statutory minimum number of years of schooling should be extended, and that the Hadow principle of secondary education for all should be realised. As early as 1922, R H Tawney, who later became president of the English Section of the New Education Fellowship, had set down the Labour Party's educational tenet that

..... the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is one under which primary education and secondary education are organised as two stages in a single and continuous process.⁴¹

This article of faith had been accepted by Hadow in 1926, and was assumed in the detailed recommendations of the Spens Report in 1938, but even into the second year

of the war, Fred Clarke could refer to the fact that English education was still dichotomised on "class" lines, with "elementary" education being deemed suitable for the majority, and secondary education, quite different in kind, being the preserve of the privileged minority.⁴²

Insistently, educational thinkers returned to the fundamental question of the purposes of education, and how the process of education should be adapted to harmonise with the new concepts of social responsibility that the pressure groups were advocating. As the issue of the relationship of the individual to society assumed prominence in debates as to the superiority of democratic as opposed to totalitarian modes of government, so too, as has been seen in the pages of "The New Era", did the relationship between the individual and the education system come to the fore. The repeated theme among philosophers of education became the importance of organising education in such a way that it respected the claims of the individual in a democratic society. This concern was made explicit in an article published in the "New Outlook", the periodical of "The Next Five Years" group. This article, by Frederic Evans, Director of Education in Erith, Kent, who also contributed to "The New Era", argued that

..... education may take that form which is the ideal of the democratic countries where full mental growth of the individual is fostered and encouraged with the necessary appreciation of the responsibilities which fall on the individual through the fact that he also lives in a society. In this conception of education, individual growth is harmonized with the social environment

The new outlook in British education must be the old outlook of liberalism of thought, of free individuals - full personalities - co-operating by consent in a democratic community.⁴³

In his argument, Evans emphasised the need to foster co-operation rather than competition in the schools, and he commended the absence of narrow nationalism in "the children of this country"⁴⁴ as a worthy objective of schooling.

In expressing his view of what a democratic education entailed, Clarke described its

antithesis, totalitarian education, which in his analysis, depended on a force which he called "Mass Assertion".

We mean by the term the active impulse of men in the mass to refuse any fatalistic submission to circumstances. The decline of older religious beliefs and ways of life leaves the way open to Promethean faith in man's collective power to help himself by drastic "reconstruction".⁴⁵

He held that the only defence against the threat of "Mass Assertion" was national investment in democratic education, the form of education that would allow the individual the opportunity to develop as an accountable human being and a free personality.

With the outbreak of war in Europe, and the realisation that the British form of democracy might be overthrown, appeals for reforms on democratic lines became even more pointed and more explicit. On the evening of the capture of Calais, A D Lindsay, Master of Balliol, broadcast an address outlining the social implications of commitment to democracy.

..... democracy does not say that all men are equal in their capacities, physical, intellectual, or moral; but that they all count. They are all equally members of the brotherhood. That is not in any scientific sense self-evident. It is a belief, a faith. It asserts that what men have in common as being men, persons, moral beings, matters so much that, compared with it, their great and obvious differences are neither here nor there.⁴⁶

Denuded of its fine rhetoric, and translated into practical administrative action in the field of education, what Lindsay was proclaiming was the virtue of the underlying philosophy of the tripartite settlement for England which was in the process of being developed by the policy machine.

Perhaps the fullest examination of contemporary questions as to the function of education and what its priorities should be, can be found in the 1942 publication "Education for a New Society".⁴⁷ In this book, Ernest Green considered from a dispassionate point of view the concept "democratic education", and came to the

conclusion that Lindsay had come to in 1940, that equality of educational opportunity did not entail equality of provision, but that what was required in England was a fairer distribution of "exceptional opportunity". He deplored that the wealthy could purchase "exceptional opportunity" in the shape of a public school place, while the majority could not. Having made this point, he then went on to express his view that "exceptional opportunity" in the form of a public school education might well be a spurious advantage, that what was required for the common weal was a national educational system designed to meet the needs of a "progressive society". Allocation of specialised forms of secondary education, therefore, should take place according to the educational and developmental needs of the individual: there must be no cut-throat competition for places, rather a new spirit of co-operation should be fostered.

The expressed need for a new moral basis emphasising "equality" and "co-operation" as fundamental to the system of education, harmonised with the mood that was widespread in the early years of the war. First-hand accounts of the spirit that was to be found everywhere during, and immediately after the "phoney" war, while varying in emphasis, draw attention to the extent to which "community" and "co-operation", two of the tenets of "progressivism", were to be found everywhere in Britain. Tom Johnston states, "..... there was in 1939-40 greater community of feeling and greater goodwill among ourselves than probably at any time in our history",⁴⁸ and Butler draws attention to the role of national crisis in the shape of war, as a stimulus to reform.

The crisis of modern war is a crucial test of national values and way of life. Amid the suffering and the sacrifice the weaknesses of society are revealed and there begins a period of self-examination, self-criticism and movement for reform.⁴⁹

And that the syndrome of "self-examination" was a truly popular feeling is argued by Addison.

From 1940, egalitarianism and community feeling became, to a great extent, the pervasive ideals of social life: whether or not people lived up to them, they knew that they ought to. The political influence of the ration book seems to me to have been greater than that of all the left-wing propaganda of the war years put together.⁵⁰

What the early years of the war apparently brought about was a set of conditions in which what had formerly passed for idealism was recognised as harsh practicality. Clearly, there was a determination that whatever sacrifices would have to be made in the war effort they should not be made in vain. The imperative of the times was a sinking of differences, a necessary co-operation to defeat the common enemy, which brought with it a resolve that what had been achieved in war should not be forfeited in the succeeding peace. The time was ripe for reform of the social and educational systems of the country, and reform in the direction of a sharing of benefits and responsibilities.

Early in 1941, the Board of Education took the significant step of issuing its plans for the reform of the system in England. "The Green Book"⁵¹ was distributed to a restricted circulation of influential educationists, with a view to taking their comments into account in drafting legislation. In the foreword, the guiding principle of the proposed reforms was set down, in the form of a quotation from a speech by the Prime Minister. The intention was to establish

..... a state of society where the advantages and privileges, which hitherto have been enjoyed only by the few, shall be far more widely shared by the men and youth of the nation as a whole.⁵²

"The Green Book" was shortly to be followed by "a book in a more sombre and less vernal shade of green",⁵³ the NUT's response to the Board's proposals. But the NUT's publication was but one of a great number of "Reconstruction" books and pamphlets produced between 1942 and 1944.⁵⁴ What resulted from the publishing of the interest groups' "Reconstruction" views was a highly-informal process of consultation between them and the Board. This activity of consultation by means of published views on the subject of educational reform as well as a series of discussions between the Board

and leading educationists resulted in the English Education Act of 1944.

By way of supplementing the limited issue of "The Green Book", Hereward Ramsbotham, Butler's immediate predecessor as President of the Board of Education, made a series of speeches which hinted in general terms at the nature of the proposed reforms. The theme that ran through many of these speeches was the now familiar one that education should henceforth be organised on more democratic lines and principles. In March, 1941, in an address to the Lancashire Branch of the National Union of Teachers, he stated that plans already under way would put English and Welsh education on "the soundest, most intelligent, and democratic lines".⁵⁵ And later, in May, when addressing London teachers, he indicated that post-war education would be on "bold and generous" lines, adding

You will look for something more than mere developments within the existing framework, and will expect that education shall offer an equality of opportunity really consonant with the ideas of our democratic society.⁵⁶

Ramsbotham's call for a "democratic" approach to education was echoed wherever educational reform was debated. In the first week of April, 1941, for example, the students and staff of Shoreditch Training College devoted the whole week to a series of debates on "Ideals and Practice in Post-War Education",⁵⁷ in which one of the recurring topics was the relationship between education and democracy. In that same month it was reported in the TES that at the Assistant Mistresses Conference the democratic concept of education was considered integral to post-war Reconstruction.⁵⁸ In the summer of that year, F H Spencer's book "Education for the People"⁵⁹ was published, presenting the case for radical reform of the English system. Two books on education for citizenship were reviewed in the TES in August of that year.

During the early years of the war, there was in fact a spate of conferences on the future of education, and the educational press and publishing houses gave their full

attention to letters, papers, and full-length books on the related topics of democracy, educational opportunity, citizenship, and the interlocking claims of the individual and society. The apparently unavoidable focal point throughout was the definition and redefinition of democratic education, and the rights and duties accruing to the citizen as an individual. What was developing in England was a wider concept of education than had formerly been recognised. Stress was now being laid on education being regarded as a means of regulating affective faculties rather than simply a mechanism for facilitating the process of cognitive development. The function of the school as moral corrector as well as dispenser of knowledge was now being regarded as fundamental.

Revulsion of Nazism was the proximate cause of arguments in favour of democratic forms of education, but it was a perceived increase in juvenile delinquency that pointed to the need for education for citizenship, in the sense of making the pupil aware of what is entailed in participating in the rights and benefits of society. Evacuation from the cities, mothers increasingly encouraged to work in industry, and fathers in the armed forces, were seen as the root causes of the high incidence of juvenile crime. But the long-term solution to the problem was seen to be not only in the hands of parents whose control over their children had been slackened by war-time conditions, but also the responsibility of society as a whole. The social support services which would soon be developing, and the schools, which with the anticipated raising of the school-leaving age to 15 and the expectation that there would be compulsory continuation education beyond that age, were increasingly expected to have extended custody of adolescents. In the first half of 1941, hardly a month went by that the Times Educational Supplement (TES) did not give full coverage to the problem as it manifested itself in one part of the country or another. In January, under the title "Spare the Rod" it was reported that the Nottingham Education Committee

..... perturbed by the serious amount of destruction being done to

property by boys, mainly of school age /had passed/ a resolution urging the local magistrates to adopt birching for a period of six months as a deterrent.⁶⁰

The article disapproved of this resolution, as did letters to the editor in response to its publication. The following month, when in another article it was noted that "Growing anxiety is rightly being felt at the rise in the number of young offenders being brought before the Juvenile Courts",⁶¹ some responsibility for the remedy of juvenile delinquency was implied to rest with the education system.

The prevailing expectations of any forthcoming English legislation, therefore, were not only that schooling should be extended to provide secondary education for all, but that the function of education should be re-defined to incorporate a concern for the development of the individual child, as "progressives" had by then been advocating for a number of years. If parents could not endow their adolescent and younger offspring with acceptable social attitudes, then the school must undertake that task.

Early preparation for legislation in England reflected that most of the agitation for educational reform had been disseminated through periodicals and journals mainly for English consumption and generally referring to the English system. There was also, however, in the late thirties a strong Scottish dimension to the movement for educational reform. As has been noted earlier, there had been active Scottish interest in the New Education Fellowship for more than a decade before the outbreak of war and indeed, in the summer of 1935 an edition of "The New Era" was devoted to "The Progress of Scottish Education".⁶² The editorial was written by Boyd, and all the contributors were based in Scotland. McClelland, Boyd himself, and R R Rusk, Director of the SCRE, all contributed papers, and to demonstrate the extent to which the Scottish branch of the Fellowship was in touch with the mainstream of its thinking, Bruce Donald, Headmaster of Meigle Public School, offered an article, "Freedom in a Scottish Country School" in which he claimed that in that school "There is now no competition between persons and houses and there are no tests".⁶³ Illustrating how

closely American experiments had been followed by at least one Scottish head teacher, Dr Thomas Wright (who later gave evidence to the sixth Advisory Council) referred to his experience in West Coates Higher Grade School, Cambuslang, in a contribution "An Activity School in Lanarkshire",⁶⁴ describing a curriculum very similar to Kilpatrick's "Experience Curriculum". In fact, during this period there was not only active "progressivism" in Scotland, but international connections were also maintained, particularly with Canada and with Teachers' College, Columbia, the venue for one of a series of seminars on examinations attended by delegations from Scotland, England, and France, as well as from the USA, in the late thirties.⁶⁵

In addition to Scottish educationists asserting their individuality and right to be counted among the ranks of "progressives", reformist opinion in Scotland was also expressed through the Scottish National Development Council, its satellite body, the Scottish Economic Committee, and through the Saltire Society. The Scottish National Development Council, although receiving token government funding, was an independent body which expressed views held in common by leading industrialists and trade unionists, and the Scottish Economic Committee, Harvie suggests "focussed Scottish "middle opinion" approaches to economic and social reconstruction".⁶⁶ The Saltire Society helped to ensure that wherever reform was contemplated, Scottish tradition and current conditions should not be forgotten. Founded in 1936 with the object of restoring Scotland to its proper place as a cultural unit, the Saltire Society had quickly set about attempting to develop a sense of Scottish distinctiveness. Lectures were given in various towns by those with reputations in art and literature, plaques were awarded commending approved examples of modern Scottish housing, and the memory of prominent Scots of the past who had fallen into obscurity were revived by the efforts of the Society. The Saltire Society, which was non-political in a party sense, included among its members not only leading figures in the arts, like Eric Linklater, Edwin and Willa Muir, and Professor Talbot Rice, but also a clutch of Scottish MPs of different political persuasions, including George Mathers, James Henderson

Stewart, Walter Elliot, and Tom Johnston, all of whom on occasions had professed an interest in education. The professional educational representation within the membership of the Society, however, was in the form of Thomas Henderson and Mary Tweedie of the EIS, and W F Arbuckle of the SED.

At the annual dinner of the Society in November, 1938, Henderson, then Secretary of the EIS was the principal speaker, and he suggested the founding of a Chair of Scottish Literature, a suggestion entirely compatible with the Society's professed aims to promote the teaching of Scottish Literature and Scottish History. Another Saltire Society member, however, James A Bowie, Principal of Dundee School of Economics, urged a rather more fundamental approach to the problems of Scottish education. In his book "The Future of Scotland"⁶⁷ published in 1939 he expressed a rather romantic nostalgia for Scotland's educational past, but also made a plea that Scotland's educational system should begin to be more responsive to the needs of industry. Two years later, in a pamphlet⁶⁸ published under the auspices of the Saltire Society he touched briefly on the role he envisaged for a reformed system of education in Scotland.

At about the same time as the Saltire Society was engaged in debating and proselytising awareness of Scottish consciousness, the London Scots Self-Government Committee was producing literature advertising their vision of the New Jerusalem in Scotland. Thomas Burns' paper, "A Plan for Scotland"⁶⁹ was recognisably a "planner's" document, similar in many respects to contemporary English pamphlets, but one of the objects of his criticism was the SED, a criticism made uncompromisingly as a preamble to his proposed solution to Scotland's educational problems. Burns stated

It is precisely during the period since Scots education has been under the bogus bureaucratic self-government of the Secretary of State and the Scottish Department of Education that this deplorable decline has remained unchecked.⁷⁰

The efforts of the Saltire Society and of the London Scots Self-Government

Committee, together with a political advance on the part of the Scottish National Party,⁷¹ sustained awareness that the position in Scotland was palpably different from that South of the Border, and that accordingly, different detailed solutions would be required regarding the public system of education in Scotland.

The professional interest groups in Scottish education adopted a less severe line with the SED, at least in their public utterances, than the London Scots had done. The EIS preferred to follow the English lead of 1941, concentrating on the need for a new "democratic" attitude to education. In so many words, Crampton Smith, the EIS President in 1941 made this point to the Annual General Meeting that year

We are told that it is being recognised in certain quarters "that the future of democracy rests very much with the teachers of our children", and that has been implied in much that has been written and said.

..... We are fighting for the ideals of democracy, and it is urged that these ideals must permeate the instruction given in our schools.⁷²

There was, in fact, little either new or uncomfortable for the SED in Crampton Smith's speech, and the real drive for reform came from ranks other than those of the EIS.

The most thorough examination of the implications of educational reconstruction was, however, begun in the SEJ on 14/11/41, and continued through to March, 1942. By far the most radical in this series of articles were the seven contributed by "R".⁷³ While they may not have represented the views of the majority of Scottish teachers, R's articles offered a thought through statement of the implications of a democratic form of education. He made it quite clear at the outset that one of two distinct approaches had to be adopted in educational policy-making, and that whichever was chosen would have a long-term effect after the war.

Education cannot remain unaffected by the momentous events of to-day. Changes are introduced to meet urgent demands, and the issue that confronts us is whether the demands necessitated by such events can be met by mere improvisation and thereafter be allowed to modify education permanently, or whether they can be co-ordinated and directed, and thus contribute to a new order in education? Should such co-ordination be effected by mere readjustment, or does the whole

educational system demand radical reconstruction?⁷⁴

Of the alternatives presented, "mere improvisation" or "a new order in education", R strongly supported the latter, and in doing so, his opinion was consonant with those of the "progressives", the "planners", and with the statements that had been issuing from the Board of Education in early 1941. Parliamentary and ministerial pronouncements had suggested that there would be a radical approach to the problem of post-war educational reconstruction, and in his essay, R declared himself in favour of just such a policy. What the official statements had not made clear, however, was how a radical approach would affect the substance of education. In his series of articles, R spelt out what he regarded as the logical implications of Democratic Education.

R saw no place for an Inspectorate once the training of teachers had been revolutionised, "..... sugar-coat the pill as effectively as they can, individual inspectors cannot disguise their inquisitorial and condemnatory functions".⁷⁵ There was to be a Democratic School Organisation with equal status for technical and aesthetic aptitudes with the traditionally favoured academic aptitudes, including special provision for the gifted as well as the handicapped. A Democratic Curriculum would also break down the artificial divisions between academic "subjects". In order that the Democratic Curriculum should be properly attended to there would be Democratic Methods and Democratic Discipline. R's vision found a place for Kilpatrick's ideas on the Project method, and the Dalton Plan, and the approaches of Montessori and Sanderson of Oundle were also upheld as models. In fact, what R saw as the logical consequence of adopting a radical and democratic policy towards educational change was the bringing about of a system which would embody the most advanced educational thinking of the time.

While there were those like R who advocated a revolutionary approach to the problem of educational reconstruction in Scotland, there was also a more restrained underswell

which favoured less radical change. Representative of this less adventurous cast of mind was the Scottish correspondent of the TES, who upbraided Kenneth Lindsay for having stated in the House of Commons that Scottish education was becoming "too academic".⁷⁶ The correspondent regarded Lindsay's remarks as "farcical",⁷⁷ pointing out that the regulations for the award of the the SLC had recently been relaxed, and he added

The comical side of Mr Lindsay's assertion is best seen, to those who know the situation, in the fact that the more conservatively minded among Scottish educationists shake their heads at the extent to which the boundaries of the certificate have been widened and declare that the discipline of Scottish education is not what it was. So far from its "becoming too academic" their plaint is that it is "becoming too non-academic". One wonders where Mr Lindsay got his knowledge.⁷⁸

The proposals of the ADES for educational reconstruction, on the other hand, was a very sober document.⁷⁹ as might be expected from an Association whose members' first concern was the local administration of education. The Directors' pamphlet set out a broad strategy for reform, referring to a wide range of components of the system. Nursery schooling and adult education were the polar extremities of the age range considered, school premises and juvenile delinquency fell within their purview, as did teacher training and educational research. It was emphasised in the foreword that action was required "now" and not "after the war",⁸⁰ that the Association would not acquiesce in the "subtle treachery of appointed days and disappointed hopes".⁸¹ Within the overall strategy advanced, there were concessions to some of the fashions of the day, for example, that within the curriculum there should be room for "actual physical activity for a purposeful object",⁸² but the guiding principles were by no means radical. While it was strongly affirmed that education must be responsive to changes in society, the importance of hard-earned experience ought not to be ignored. Therefore,

We must reinterpret democracy in the light of the new situations, and new needs, but in terms of our national genius and tradition.⁸³

Fundamental to the Directors' proposals for reconstruction was the raising of the leaving age to 15, with no exemptions, and the instituting of compulsory part-time day education to the age of 18. That primary and secondary education should be sequential and complementary stages was assumed, and the function of the extension of school life beyond the new statutory leaving age was seen as linking general education with vocational education, welding the interests of industry and commerce to those of the educational system.

Towards this end we welcome the establishment and development of national and regional consultative committees for technical and commercial education.⁸⁴

Beyond the stage of continuation education there would be an adult education sector whose role would be that of providing a "natural continuance"⁸⁵ of schooling rather than offering a substitute for what school had failed to achieve. This adult education sector, as envisaged, would operate under the auspices of the local education authority, financially supported by a percentage grant from the SED. The secondary school curriculum would be widened to give all pupils the opportunity to engage in practical work, and the suggestion was made that the Leaving Certificate should be adjusted to accommodate domestic science or other practical subjects deemed suitable for girls. In order to provide instruction in this broader curriculum, the teacher training system should be made more responsive to the claims for entry of teachers of practical subjects. In all, these modest proposals of the ADES would entail no great departures from the contemporary situation, and certainly posed no threat to the existing regime, rather did they seek to build upon and expand what was already firmly established.

At least as influential and down to earth in its proposals as the Directors' pamphlet was the EIS's "Educational Reconstruction",⁸⁶ the work of six panels over a period of a year and a half, and stretching to 83 pages. This booklet was as comprehensive in its scope as the Directors' pamphlet, and dealt with many of the same topics, but

generally in greater depth. Where the ADES had given a paragraph to School Health, for instance, the EIS devoted one full section of the booklet to this topic, covering recommended action to be taken on particular ailments, to nutrition, to child guidance, and the mental health service. Another section was given over to the problems of rural education, advocating a rather different policy of school organisation and curriculum design for the outlying areas from that proposed for the cities and more industrial parts of the country. The general framework recommended, however, would be applicable throughout Scotland: compulsory education from age 5 to 16 with no exemptions, a complete curriculum to be planned for the whole of school life to the statutory leaving age, and promotion from the primary to the secondary school to be effected on an age basis for the great majority of pupils. With regard to continued education, the EIS was of a mind with the ADES, that to the age of 18 there should be part-time compulsory day classes for young workers, that the courses should be made of half general education, half vocational, with provision for instruction in physical training, citizenship, and leisure activities.

On two important issues, secondary schools organisation and certification, the EIS produced detailed policies. The type of secondary school preferred was to be the omnibus school, offering a variety of courses to the pupils of a given area, should there be sufficient pupils within easy travelling distance of the school to make up the recommended optimum roll of 600. "Where the numbers would exceed this limit", however, "two or more Secondary Schools should be provided, each offering only one or a limited number of courses according to organisation requirements and the special needs of the area."⁸⁷ This alternative of functional schools seriously undermined the principle of the omnibus school, a principle further eroded by the admission that in sparsely populated areas the large omnibus school would not be economically or socially viable. More positive conclusions were, however, reached regarding curriculum and teaching methods. The mandatory seal of approval was given to "activity", and within the secondary school, of whatever type, it was advocated that the pupils in the

first year of their course should be taught by as few teachers as could cope with the diverse subjects of the curriculum, that "Mathematics and Science might be taught by one teacher and similarly English, History, Geography and Civics".⁸⁸ In the matter of certification, the EIS admitted of less local variation: they proposed a school certificate to be awarded at the age of 16 on the satisfactory completion of a secondary school course. Although under the general supervision of the SED, this certificate, which would not be used for university entrance purposes, would be "in the hands of the teachers".⁸⁹ The Leaving Certificate would continue as a fifth year certificate, but the EIS recommended that

The Panel System should be continued until such time as the Certificate can be awarded by the school itself, subject to safeguards imposed by the Scottish Education Department as the custodian of the public interest.⁹⁰

Although the booklet identified the making of good citizens as one of the functions of education, and took note in its recommendations of the current fascination with equality of opportunity, surprisingly, little mention was made of a "democratic" form of education.

A few months before the ADES and EIS programmes for educational reconstruction were published, Sir William McKechnie, the former Secretary of the Department, and now acting as a consultant to the Edinburgh authority, made his contribution to the debate as to how the education system should be developed. In the summer of 1942 he had paid a visit to the London County Council, and in a set of three articles in the SEJ he commented on their policies. In the first of these articles he gave unqualified approval of the London authority's decision to favour the multilateral school as the basic organisational unit of secondary education. In his view, the reasons in support of this type of secondary school, which he equated with the Scottish omnibus school, derived increased force from "the rapidly growing demand for equality of educational opportunity".⁹¹ The practical advantages he saw in the multilateral school were that it went a considerable way towards facilitating the transfer of pupils from one course of

secondary education to another, and that, as American experience had shown, the multilateral school gave direct preparation for industry and commerce. Apart from these practical advantages, however, the suitability of this type of school for the new post-war era was justified in ethical terms: the universal adoption of the multilateral school would provide all children in attendance with "some common social life";⁹² and, "the very core and kernel of the problem",⁹³ it would overcome the difficulties that would inevitably arise from the varying degrees of prestige that would be afforded the various types of secondary school that were apparently being considered by the Board of Education at that time. McKechnie admitted to weaknesses in the multilateral school, that for intellectual training for specialised forms of education it would almost certainly be inefficient, and that to be viable the school would have to be larger than what he regarded as the ideal. Nevertheless, on balance, as McKechnie saw it, the social and ethical advantages to be derived from this form of secondary organisation far outweighed any disadvantages it might entail.

In the matter of examinations, McKechnie was equally well-disposed to the LCC's arrangements for assessing pupils towards the end of their secondary course, though he expressed disappointment that for the purposes of selecting pupils for entry to secondary courses there would be an external written examination, as well as an intelligence test, teachers' recommendations, and school records, taken into account. The need for an external examination had, however, been declared in McClelland's influential book, "Selection for Secondary Education",⁹⁴ and taken to heart by the LCC as well as many other authorities throughout both England and Scotland.

McKechnie deferred in his comments to this seemingly authoritative source. Greater enthusiasm, however, was accorded the "revolutionary" view of the authority that "External examination for secondary school pupils conducted by universities and other examining bodies should be abolished".⁹⁵ The argument justifying this assertion, which was accepted by McKechnie, was that by liberating themselves from the requirements of external examinations the schools would be enabled to provide a more appropriate

curriculum, designed to meet the needs of pupils rather than the demands of external bodies. In order that there might be some uniformity of standard in internally conducted tests, the assistance of independent assessors might be called upon.

Published only weeks before the Advisory council was reconstituted, McKechnie's contributions were but the most recent to a debate whose origins can be traced back to the end of the nineteenth century. The increasing concern for educational reform, particularly the reform of secondary education, expressed in the 1930s and early 1940s, however, demanded more substantial results than earlier appeals. The force of public opinion, awakened first by the reformist groups, sustained by their essays and pamphlets, and made manifest in the community spirit of the war effort, ensured that significant measures of reconstruction, including educational reconstruction, would be inevitable: it was unthinkable that when the war was over the pre-war situation would again obtain. But the debate had done more than articulate a general desire for reform, it had concentrated it to a considerable extent on aspects of secondary education, and had offered two alternative strategies for reform – radical or gradualistic. The leaving age had, of course, to be raised, but the contemporary debate had also demanded answers regarding the organisation of schools, their curricula, and the examination system.

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Chapter 5

Reconstituting the Council

The reconstitution of the Advisory Council in 1942 may, in a general sense be regarded as a governmental or bureaucratic response to the "Reconstruction" debate that was currently taking place. It is not the case, however, that the SED took steps to reconstitute the Council from the moment it became clear that it would be required to produce plans for educational reform for the post-war period. There was, in fact, considerable resistance within the Department to suggestions that a formally constituted body should be consulted in the framing of post-war policy.

Early in 1941 there were appeals from the Scottish educational interest groups that the SED should make public whatever plans it had for educational reconstruction. These appeals were occasioned by the news that in England the Board of Education had, at an early stage in the war, drawn up plans for the post-war development of the educational system in England, and had released copies of its tentative proposals on a limited scale to representatives of the most important interested parties. There were complaints in England that the Board's proposals, "The Green Book",¹ had not been issued to a wider audience, but the disappointment expressed in Scotland was of a more fundamental kind, that the SED had not revealed its plans, whatever they might be, to anyone. The feeling in Scottish educational circles in early 1941 was that while the Scottish system of public education was certainly more advanced than that South of the Border, sustained effort on all sides would be required to maintain that advantage. The SEJ expressed the prevailing view in May, 1941.

All men say that in education Scotland has done very well in the past, and we have no reason to suppose that they are wrong. Some men say that we are falling behind in the race, and we have no evidence, no well-considered evidence to show that they are right. But we dare not be complacent, we dare not rest on our laurels²

Pressure on the Department to co-operate with legitimate interests, or at least to be more forthcoming with regard to its intentions for the post-war period, found expression on two fronts: Scottish MPs in the House of Commons made pointed demands of the ministers responsible that the SED should follow the Board of Education and reveal whatever it had in mind, and the interest groups in Scotland petitioned the SED directly that they should be formally invited to consult with the Department in the formulation of post-war policy.

The Commons campaign to have the Department lift the veil of secrecy from its post-war planning began in May, 1941. In the House of Commons it was enquired of the Secretary of State for Scotland whether he could make a statement regarding the future of education in Scotland comparable to that already made by the President of the Board of Education regarding England and Wales. The comparatively open approach of Hereward Ramsbotham, the President of the Board, again having recently been exemplified.³ The reply of Tom Johnston, Secretary of State for Scotland, was non-committal:

..... he was aware that his right hon Friend /the President of the B of E/ had referred in public statements to various aspects of the educational position after the war. These were matters which were being considered as part of the post-war reconstruction problem which was under consideration by a Cabinet Committee presided over by Mr Greenwood,⁴ the Minister without Portfolio. He could assure him that Scottish tradition and Scottish needs would be fully presented.⁵

Johnston's answer, while accepted for the time being, proved ultimately unsatisfactory, for though it was indeed the case that the SED had begun to formulate a response to Greenwood's Cabinet Committee's request for action in this sphere, the demand in Scotland was not that the Department should communicate through the Civil Service network with a Cabinet Committee in London, but that it should declare its future policy proposals to a wider audience.

The matter was again taken up in the House in the Scottish Estimates debate ten weeks later. Dr Morrison (Scottish Universities), the Parliamentary Secretary to the EIS,

enquired of the Government whether the proposals regarding Scotland might at least be hinted at if not fully revealed.

Even a declaration like that of the last President of the Board,⁶ including the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 without exemptions, Day Continuation classes, and the thorough overhaul of the secondary school curriculum, would be welcome⁷

Kenneth Lindsay (Nat Labour, Kilmarnock) was much more direct: he referred to the fact that the Board of Education had completed a detailed document outlining the whole future of education, ("The Green Book") and noted that this document was being examined by the local education authorities and representatives of the teachers, and would be issued to a wider public in good time. He wanted to know whether in Scotland a thorough survey of the position was taking place, and to have revealed specific details as to the matters that might be under discussion. In replying to these questions, Joseph Westwood, Joint Under Secretary of State, declined to give details, stating that

..... the whole question of reconstruction was being considered in Scotland as it was in England, but with this difference, that until decisions were finally arrived at they were being very cautious. They wanted to be in the happy position of telling the country what these conclusions of the Government were in regard to dealing with these problems, and so far no final decision had been arrived at.⁸

The curiosity of MPs on the topic was largely satisfied by Johnston himself, who announced in September⁹ of that year that he was setting up an Advisory Council to consider post-war reconstruction in Scotland.¹⁰ This Council, to be made up of all the living ex-Secretaries of State for Scotland, would select subjects of inquiry and determine by whom the inquiries should be made. The assumption among MPs was that educational reform would be one of the subjects tackled by that Council.

The professional groups had not, however, left it entirely to parliamentarians to elicit a response from Government. Approaches were made to the SED that the informal discussions which were occasionally held between the Department and the

professionally interested parties should be supplemented by regular meetings of a formally-constituted group representative of educational interests. In a letter dated 16th April, 1941, J B Frizell, Secretary of the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland, wrote to the SED, intimating that at a recent conference of the Directors' Association a remit had been made to their executive committee to consider how best they might apply their minds to getting some idea as to how they were to face the problems that they would meet at the end of hostilities.

The suggestion was made that a Committee, representative of all educational thought and practice, might be the best medium for the purpose.¹¹

This suggestion was firmly rejected by Mackay Thomson, Secretary of the SED, who preferred to defer any moves of this kind until such time as the general situation became clearer and the Government's reconstruction policy as a whole had been more clearly formulated.¹²

Mackay Thomson's rebuff was not, however, accepted without response from the Directors' Association, and at their Annual Conference, held at the end of May, 1941, one of the Directors of Education put out a call which echoed many of those made by early twentieth century reformers alluding to the need for an Advisory Council.

Dr Hepburn /Director of Education for Ayr/ thought that there was a great need to-day for the pooling of the ideas of all leading educationalists in Scotland. There should be a committee of representatives from the Training Colleges, Scottish Education Department, Directors of Education, and Headteachers who should meet together regularly to discuss the educational problems of the day.¹³

This call by Hepburn was no mere rhetorical gesture. At the very next meeting of the executive committee, to which the Secretary of the SED had been invited, the proposal from the Conference was put to Mackay Thomson. The Secretary of the Department, however, saw little possibility of the proposed committee being sanctioned.

As a result of tentative enquiries made by the Secretary /Mackay Thomson/, the Department had indicated that the educational policy to

be pursued after the war was at present under consideration by the Government and the Secretary of State would welcome any opportunity of discussing it with the Directors' Association and accepting any assistance that they might be good enough to offer when at some later stage these proposals had taken more definite shape. He felt, however, that consultation with parties interested must be deferred until the general situation became clearer and the Government's reconstruction policy as a whole had been more definitely formulated.

.....Mr Mackay Thomson said that the Government were absolutely against setting up any more committees at the present time.

..... the Department would be grateful for any memoranda on educational issues after the war but they were not authorised to enter into discussions at this stage.¹⁴

The absolute refusal by Mackay Thomson to contemplate the formation of any representative committee in the immediate future, apparently authorised at the highest level, was taken to heart by the Directors' Association. At the September meeting of their executive committee, the attention of the Directors was drawn to the setting up of the Advisory Council on Post-War problems, and like the MPs, they accepted this measure as a reply to appeals for evidence of action.¹⁵ The strategy of suggesting a closer involvement with the Department in the planning of policy was set aside, and the Executive Committee agreed that the Association would be better employed formulating its own ideas on post-war policy and then might begin to co-operate with other interested bodies in regard to the submission of a report to the Department. To enable the Association to come to a considered view, it was decided that a small committee be set up to prepare a report which would be taken as the basis for discussion by the whole Association. The proposals eventually produced were published in February, 1943, as "Education in Scotland: Proposals for Reconstruction".¹⁶

Like the ADES, the EIS had also in the spring of 1941 called for wide consultation, and like those of the ADES, its calls fell on deaf ears. In a minute to John Parker, Second Secretary of the Department, based in London, and in close touch with the B of E, Mackay Thomson wrote on 1st June

Mr Wishart /General Secretary of the EIS/ called yesterday to discuss a number of matters, and among them was the question of post-war reconstruction¹⁷

According to Mackay Thomson, Wishart approved of the Department's policy that there should be no discussions with interested parties prior to the publication of specific measures, that he (Wishart)

..... fully appreciated the danger of entering into discussion at this stage on matters which for all we might know might fail to secure approval from Mr Greenwood's Committee or from the Cabinet.¹⁸

But Wishart's acquiescence to Mackay Thomson's declared strategy was not the public response of the EIS. While the decision seemed to have been accepted that the Department would not sit round a table to discuss post-war policy with legitimate interest groups, the obvious alternative that the EIS should articulate and disseminate its own proposals, backed by as wide an educational constituency as it could muster, was decided upon. At the June meeting of the Executive Committee of the Institute it was agreed that a meeting should be held between the EIS and the SCRE to explore further the possibility of setting up some sort of conference to discuss educational reconstruction in Scotland.¹⁹ With the approval of the Research Council, it was decided that an EIS committee be set up

..... to find out what the problems were, to discover how far these problems had already been discussed by the Institute or other organisations, and to suggest the kind of machinery which ought to be set up in order to carry out the investigation²⁰

Effectively, this meeting with the Research Council resulted in the formation of the EIS Reconstruction Committee, which worked to produce the January, 1943 publication "Educational Reconstruction",²¹ the EIS's recommendations for the post-war period.

But the endeavours to conduct joint meetings of the interest groups met with little success. The SEJ of 1st April, 1941, exhorted that the planning of a new educational order would only be successful if the co-operation of all bodies interested in

education were assured. But the announcement of the creation of the Council of ex-Secretaries of State in September seemed to have been taken by most agitators for reform as a substitute for any proposed co-operative action on the part of those outwith Government. It also seemed to signal the failure of the ADES and the EIS to persuade the Department to broaden the base of decision-making for the post-war future. The unsuccessful efforts of the ADES and the EIS did not, however, completely exhaust the supply of appeals for specific enquiries. Writing in November, 1941, "WDR" claimed that research into the "present position of Education in Scotland" was required immediately, suggesting that an enquiry should be "begun now, and not 'after the war'",²² but there was no ready public response to that call.

Any appeals for action made after September, 1941, tended to be addressed to the public rather than directly to the Department – except in the case of one. If credit is to be given to an "outside" group for setting in motion the machinery to reconstitute the Advisory Council, that credit must be given to the Association of Headteachers of Senior Secondary Schools (AHSSS). The Secretary of that Association, Harry Bell, Rector of Dollar Academy, was one of the headteachers whose schools were paid a visit by Arthur Woodburn, Johnston's Parliamentary Private Secretary, in the summer of 1941. Almost certainly the topic of reconstruction and the future of education would have occurred in discussions between the two men, Bell and Woodburn. Whatever topics were covered, an outcome of the the meeting was that Bell sent Woodburn, "as arranged",²³ a proposal for the creation of a standing committee on Scottish education, modelled on what Bell took to be the constitution of the Board of Education's Consultative Committee. Woodburn passed on Bell's proposal to Johnston, who, in his turn, had it passed on to the SED. After first being inclined to give no more than courteous acknowledgment to Bell's proposal, Mackay Thomson apparently changed his mind with regard to instituting enquiries into Scottish education,²⁴ and drafted a reply for Johnston's signature, promising enquiries, not to be conducted by Bell's proposed standing committee but more probably by a reinforced and

reconstituted Advisory Council. In July of that year, the decision to reconstitute the Council was made public. In the House of Commons, Lindsay again urged the necessity for post-war planning in education, reiterating his well-rehearsed theme that Scotland seemed to be falling behind the newest developments in England.²⁵ Replying for the Government, Westwood announced that the Advisory Council on Education would be reconstituted in the near future. This assurance was later repeated in a Commons reply to James Henderson Stewart, National Liberal MP for East Fife, and later to become a member of the Advisory Council.²⁶

To adopt the conclusion that the proximate cause of the reconstitution of the Council was Bell's petition would, however, be naive. Evidence from other sources does not support the conclusion that where the ADES and EIS had failed to move the Department to consultation in 1941, the much less influential AHSSS, admittedly with the implicit support of one close to the Secretary of State, succeeded in 1942. The records of the SED suggest, in fact, that from August, 1941, Mackay Thomson would have been well disposed towards any suggestion that the Advisory Council might be reconstituted. In order to explain his attitude it is necessary to trace the Department's own responses to "Reconstruction" initiatives from the B of E and from Whitehall generally, and how it coped with the assertive energy of Johnston, who had been appointed Secretary of State for Scotland in February, 1941, with as wide a brief as any incumbent of that post had ever enjoyed.²⁷

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The first months of 1941 witnessed a spell of considerable activity in St Andrew's House as officials of the Department discussed and set down their plans for educational reform in Scotland in the post-war period. In spite of its refusal to indulge in consultation with the interested bodies, and ministerial coyness in revealing details of the SED's programme for post-war reconstruction, the Department had indeed

begun at the very end of 1940 to formulate policy to meet the anticipated reforms of the Board of Education. It was reluctant to reveal its own hand in the matter, but in order to be well informed on current thinking, had collected a set of publications and press cuttings which outlined the proposed "Reconstruction" reforms and strategies of a wide range of influential groups. The whole spectrum of political opinion was reflected in the SED's collection of papers, from the proposals of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education to those of the Scottish District of the Communist Party.²⁸ But the document which exerted by far the most powerful influence was "The Green Book".

An early draft of "The Green Book" had been sent to the Department as a matter of courtesy, towards the end of 1940, and Mackay Thomson had circulated a summary of its main points to those in attendance at one of the regular conferences which took place between the Scottish Secretariat and HMCIs. At that meeting, which took place on 22nd November, the Conference of Secretary, Second Secretary (Parker), Assistant Secretaries and HMCIs, offered tentative suggestions as to how the SED might best respond to English initiatives.²⁹ Several of the suggestions made at that meeting survived as significant factors in the Department's formal proposals for post-war Reconstruction: it was confirmed that the raising of the leaving age to 15 could be met by the Junior Leaving Certificate arrangements, and it was proposed that a block grant should be replaced by a percentage grant as a means of encouraging education authorities to undertake new developments with regard to the continuation class sector. These decisions remained unchanged by subsequent discussions. The informing principles of later detailed planning were articulated at this meeting, that much could be done under the existing code, and that the development and implementation of much of the Scottish 1918 Act, if carried out, would match all that had been proposed for England.

Early in 1941, Parker submitted a paper to the Secretary in which he set out the problems relating to planning for building, and also commented more generally on

current and possible future provision of education in Scotland.³⁰ In this paper, he noted what others had already expressed at the November, 1940, Conference, that a huge expansion of educational provision had been legislated for in 1918, but that this provision had never been fully implemented, mainly for reasons of financial stringency at both local and national level. A section of his paper emphasised the ways in which Scotland was ahead of England in terms of existing legislation, but noted two points in which Scotland was perhaps deficient when compared with the situation in England and "The Green Book" proposals – (a) that education authorities were not sufficiently compelled by statute to secure the increased provision for technical education that had been recommended by the fourth Advisory Council in its report of 1937, and (b) that education might for some purposes be better organised in larger administrative areas (on a regional basis).

This paper of Parker's had the effect of drawing from Mackay Thomson a reply, which was in fact a statement of the preparations that had been made in Scotland for the raising of the leaving age to 15 on 1st September, 1939, together with tentative proposals as to how further development might take place, building on what had already been approved. In the introductory remarks of his minute to Parker, Mackay Thomson was at pains to emphasise that Scotland was far ahead of England in terms of preparation for the raising of the leaving age to 15 without exemptions, but he also expressed concern that steady progress in Scotland would be eclipsed by comprehensive re-framing of the organisation of education in England.

In view of the possibility that the B of E may produce some very spectacular programme beside which our own may seem insignificant, it is important that S of S should appreciate the force of what you say in section 9 of your Notes. /Parker's rehearsal of Scottish advances/.

When England were studying the Spens Report on the eve of the raising of the leaving-age, our own preparations for that event had either been already made or were on the point of completion. It may be convenient if I recount them here: there had been a fairly comprehensive review of our system and a general "tidying-up", as 1st September, 1939, was being regarded as the beginning of a new educational era.³¹

Following thereon is a list of nine points which explained in some detail the administrative measures that had been effected to bring about this "beginning of a new educational era".

The most significant of these measure cited by Mackay Thomson was the Day School (Scotland) Code Minute of 1939,³² but he also referred to other arrangements that had been made to meet the leaving age of 15 and embrace the wider concept of secondary education on which the 1939 Code was predicated. The Minimum National Scales (Scotland) Regulations Minute,³³ 1939, had become operative, taking into account the new nomenclature of schools adopted in the 1939 Code, and a new edition of the regulations for the training of teachers was being circulated for consideration by education authorities when the war broke out, the intention having been to adjust regulations to conform to the needs of the new code. The existence of a consolidating Bill, panels of Inspectors at work in the preparation of memoranda on the teaching of their subjects, and the fourth Advisory Council's report on Technical Education, were all listed by Mackay Thomson as proof of the SED's awareness, prescience, and state of preparation. Mackay Thomson acknowledged that after the war, "The main battle will be joined on the vexed question of the curriculum from 12 - 15",³⁴ but he claimed that both the Code and the Junior Leaving Certificate were so elastically framed, and the Memorandum explanatory of the Day School (Scotland) Code³⁵ so abundant in precept that there was no need for any drastic reform of regulations relating to the curriculum in that area.

The general satisfactoriness of the current position was, however, clouded somewhat for Mackay Thomson, in that the situation regarding certification was not entirely to his liking. Having expressed satisfaction with the Junior Leaving Certificate and the amended Senior Leaving Certificate Regulations as adequate for the new leaving age of 15, he noted that these arrangements left the most academically able of Scottish pupils disadvantaged *vis-a-vis* their English counterparts.

On our Certificate system generally I should prefer to adopt the English arrangement of a general certificate at the end of the fourth year, followed one or two years later by a higher certificate on a narrower front. If we made this change, the JLC might be left entirely to the EAs, and we would hope that many pupils would be tempted to remain at school for an extra year to get the Department's certificate. It is now more than six years since I advocated this change, but I have had no support from within the Department, though there is a steadily increasing body of support for it from among the more reputable Headmasters who deplore, as I do, the fact that our secondary schools are unable to produce boys capable of winning a scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge – as boys from Council schools in England now do in large numbers. But Scottish educational opinion generally seems still opposed to specialisation at school, and I doubt if the time is yet ripe for any such change.³⁶

Notwithstanding this personal reservation on the Secretary's part, Mackay Thomson's minute to Parker was a clear and full statement that the preparations for the raising of the leaving age to 15 in Scotland had gone beyond merely proposing changes. Alterations to the system of certification, and curriculum organisation, had been attended to, but changes consequential of these alterations to the practice of secondary education had also been made. In many respects the general "tidying-up" of administrative and planning details had been completed.

What yet had to be done in the light of "The Green Book" proposals and current preoccupations, was also noted by Mackay Thomson. He foresaw a need to improve the teaching of citizenship in schools, to improve facilities for post-school technical education, particularly for the continuation class age group, and to improve the provision, content and facilities for post-primary rural education, mainly through the building of hostels for pupils who lived at a considerable distance from their schools. His main concern in this minute, however, was not to expose the deficiencies in Scottish education but to demonstrate the extent to which "The Green Book", as he interpreted it, had been anticipated by Scottish reforms; and it made clear that he regarded the task of post-war reconstruction as an extension of what had recently been achieved, and not as a fundamental restructuring of the system.

But proposed extension from the 1939 position was seriously jeopardised by an implied demand from Arthur Greenwood, Minister without Portfolio, and an influential member of Churchill's War Cabinet, that both the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department submit to the central Reconstruction Committee, schemes "for securing equality of educational opportunity". This requirement apparently took the Department by surprise, both in terms of content and the manner in which the message was conveyed. Mackay Thomson expressed his feelings to Parker in a note.

Among papers brought down to my house this morning is a series of Cabinet memoranda

In the last of these, dated 27th February, Mr Greenwood states that he proposes to invite "the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department to communicate to the Committee in due course the schemes which he understands they have under consideration for securing equality of educational opportunity and for general reform and expansion of the educational system".

So far as I am aware, no formal invitation has as yet reached us.

This is the first that I have heard of any suggestion that we should work out any scheme "for securing equality of educational opportunity", and I am somewhat puzzled that the Government should imagine we are in fact already doing so

In general, these momentous memoranda seem to throw pretty well everything into the melting-pot, and one cannot very safely count on the survival of anything from the maelstrom of committees and enquiries which are contemplated.³⁷

Parker's reply suggested that the B of E might be responsible for Greenwood's misapprehension of the Department's intentions, but counselled taking "equality of opportunity" into account in any proposals to be put forward.³⁸ He also offered the consolation in his note that the 1918 Act had done much to secure equality of opportunity in Scotland. The attainment of this ideal, he assured the Secretary, was being taken into account in the memorandum he was engaged in preparing following the first Departmental discussion of "The Green Book" and Mackay Thomson's minute of 2nd February. Consideration of "equality of opportunity" was, in fact, given primacy in Parker's paper, which was circulated to senior officials of the Department and the Chief Inspectors on 26th March, for their comments.³⁹ In this paper, certain

weaknesses in primary and secondary provision were noted, together with tentative proposals as to how opportunity might be equalised in the various gradings of educational organisation. The process of responding to Greenwood's request was thus put in train.

With regard to primary education, the paper stated that "equality of opportunity" already existed at that stage in that the standard curriculum was available to all, irrespective of their parents' means. It was conceded, however, that in some of the fee-paying primary schools, subjects such as foreign languages, normally taught only in the secondary schools, had been introduced, but the point was made that the non-fee-paying schools were also at liberty to introduce such subjects under the code. More serious disadvantage was admitted in the case of children who lived in remote parts, where the provision of viable classes and schools was often prevented by problems of geography and transport, or by the reluctance of parents to have young children accommodated in hostels. A problem was also recognised in the junior secondary schools. Outwith the larger centres, it was acknowledged, there was some risk of a pupil's choice of course being limited, in practice, to the type available at the school which normally served his locality. Although theoretically the education authority was bound by the 1918 Act (Section 4) to bring within his reach the type of course the pupil desired, provided he was fit to profit by it, this provision was widely ignored. A serious flaw was noted in senior secondary education, that while the Act gave the opportunity of a full secondary course to all who were adjudged fit to profit by it, this opportunity was often denied in practice, the niggardly maintenance awards made beyond the statutory leaving age generally being insufficient to offset the attractions of paid employment.

This latter form of inequality of opportunity, the general inadequacy of bursaries to counter the attractions of adolescent employment, was the one noted by all to whom Parker's paper was sent for comment. Other facets and interpretations of inequality of opportunity were, however, identified in some of the responses to the circulated draft

memorandum. HMCI Lang, for instance, pointed out that those who opted not to take the traditional secondary course, but who left school at the statutory leaving age, later to embark on apprenticeships and aspire to the highest forms of technical education, were less favoured by existing provision than those opting for the well-worn path to university.

Pupils, boys mainly, who, having left school at 14 – it will be 15 – and become apprentices to one or other of the recognized trades, pursue their studies in Continuation Classes and proceed ultimately to a Central Institution. This avenue should be opened up, via bursaries and grants for boys and girls of parts as the way is already open for the prospective University student. It should not be necessary for these boys and girls to have to reach their goal via the Evening Classes of a CI while they are completing their apprenticeship.⁴⁰

HMCI Frewin saw "inequality of educational opportunity" in another guise. He reserved his fiercest criticism for the junior secondary schools, suggesting that "an opportunity offered to those unable to accept it ceases to be an equality of opportunity",⁴¹ that to offer pupils academic courses in junior secondaries was unfair and inappropriate. He cited the case of Whitehill School.

All pupils take the same course for the first six months so that the head may prove to the pupils beyond a doubt that very many are incapable of, say, learning French. At the December test 1940 many pupils with groans and tears (I am told) reached from 5 – 20%. The 'leaving date' is a happy release.⁴²

Remarking on practice in the Highlands, HMCI McLeod agreed that bursaries for secondary education were desperately inadequate. They also bred inequality in another way: one bursary per year per school district was the usual practice, and it was very unusual for any school to receive two bursaries no matter how gifted bursary candidates proved themselves to be. The mechanical allocation of bursaries to school districts prevailed over the claims of the most suitable in academic terms to benefit by the bursary. He noted that

..... Members of Authorities are still parochially minded and see to it that their particular school district receives a bursary, whatever promise may be shown by children from other school districts.⁴³

Having taken advice from the Senior Inspectorate in April, Parker worked on a draft of "Proposals for the development of the Educational System",⁴⁴ which he completed by mid-June.

Copies of this draft were sent to senior officials of the B of E, prompting the flattering reply from Maurice Holmes, Secretary of the English department

I cannot help feeling rather envious at the relatively simple position from which you start as compared with ourselves in England.⁴⁵

In certain respects, the Scottish system was indeed "relatively simple" when compared with that South of the Border, particularly regarding administration at a local level, Scotland being spared the complications of denominational interest in the management of schools, and the existence of authorities with responsibility for segments of the public sector.

In the first section of the draft memorandum, "The present position in Scotland", an account was offered of what was deemed to be right with Scottish education with regard to equality of opportunity. Outlines of the position in primary and junior secondary schools were given, referring to perceived inadequacies that had earlier been noted in internal discussions. It stated also that

It is the duty of the Education Authority to secure that no child who is qualified for attendance at a secondary school and shows promise of profiting thereby shall be debarred therefrom by reason of the expense involved.⁴⁶

But that

It would seem,, that while at present the opportunity of a full secondary course is theoretically open to all who are qualified to take it, there are in practice many such pupils who either cannot for financial reasons avail themselves of the opportunity, or who, if they do avail themselves of it, involve their families in varying degrees of financial sacrifice.⁴⁷

In fact, much of this section of the paper was given over to exposing the gap

between the theoretical position laid down by the 1918 Act and contemporary practice, the gap having come into being either because the administrative and financial arrangements to fully implement the Act had been lacking, or the educational provision made was not sufficiently attractive beyond the age of compulsion.

What this section of the memorandum gave clear evidence of, was that in the early years of the war, the SED, like the B of E, held to a "weak" version of the principle of "equality of opportunity".⁴⁸ Far from accepting the "strong" version, which sprang to prominence in the 1960s, that all children should have the right to acquire intelligence, the view of the SED was that the best that could be hoped and striven for was that all should have equal opportunity of access to the courses from which they could prove themselves as being fit to profit. The key to educational efficiency was that beyond the primary stage, courses of education should be differentiated according to the future occupations of pupils, and that in order that fairness should prevail, none should be debarred from the more favoured courses through unfortunate familial or geographic circumstances. That some courses, traditional academic courses, should be prized while others should not be so regarded was implicit to Parker's analysis. Lang's argument that the educational ladder for the aspiring engineer was considerably less well propped up than that for the academic, and so represented an educational inequality, was ignored. So too was that of Frewin, pointing to the inappropriateness of an academic curriculum for the junior secondary pupil, seen by the Department to be as much the responsibility of the local education authority and teachers as of the central Department. Fundamental to the thrust of the memorandum was that able, if not all, pupils should find scope for their talents in the academic course. To eliminate existing inconsistencies, what the SED saw as being required was an effort to ensure access to traditional secondary education for all those fit to profit by it. There was no suggestion in the draft memorandum that a radical new approach would be required in addressing the problem presented by Greenwood, "The present position in Scotland" being prefaced by the complacent statement that

Scotland has long been proud of the equality of opportunity offered under her educational system, and before suggesting further developments it may be convenient to state briefly the existing organisation,⁴⁹

The memorandum did, however, recognise a relationship between inequality of opportunity and "leakage", (pupils not completing the courses on which they had embarked). In secondary schools this was attributed to a variety of causes, some of which could be alleviated. For children between the ages of 14 and 15, leakage was attributed to :-

(a) leaving in order to enter employment and supplement the family income;

(b) leaving because they had "shot their educational bolt" and were adjudged or judged themselves, incapable of profiting by further attendance;

(c) leaving because a third year of secondary education could be obtained only if they were willing to reside away from home at an appropriate centre;

(d) leaving simply because the statutory leaving age was regarded as an appropriate terminus or because their interest lay elsewhere than in school.⁵⁰

For those leaving between the ages of 15 and 16, further leakage could be accounted for by the acquisition of qualifications at the end of a third year of secondary education which would qualify them for the occupation of their choice. Or, for a minority, leaving school would be a regrettable step, having failed to achieve the standard necessary for an education authority bursary. Clearly, leakage attributed to causes (a) and (c) above, and to those leaving through failure to achieve the standard necessary for a bursary, could be reduced by effective administrative and financial intervention. Other causes of leakage, however, could only be countered by tackling the problem of the secondary curriculum. And as this was a matter on which Mackay Thomson had already declared himself satisfied by the new code, the emphasis in "Proposals for development" was on arrangements for finance and provision, rather than the content of secondary school courses.

In spite of the overall confidence in the fairness of the system expressed in the document, frankness was the keynote of the paragraph "The present position in Scotland", which referred to after-school education. The admission was made that nearly two-thirds of the young people in Scotland between the ages of 14 and 18 were associated with neither national youth organisations nor continuation classes. The memorandum admitted that, therefore,

This means that in the most formative, the most potentially important years of their lives, when they are struggling to find their place as wage-earners and acquiring the habits of body, mind and spirit which will determine their whole usefulness to the community and to themselves, a majority of the future electorate and the future parents of Scotland are being left to become whatever the chances and mischances of their own circumstances may make them.⁵¹

Significantly, however, the opportunities of this majority of the population was not set against those of their more academic contemporaries, whatever their personal conditions.

Later in the memorandum, under the general title "Proposals for development" can be found outline suggestions for the main sectors of education and also for the support areas for which the SED had responsibility, such as the school health service, school and holiday camps, and the siting of schools. What proved to be the most significant developments proposed, however, related to secondary education beyond the age of 15, part-time education up to the age of 18, and technical education. All proposals made were rather sketchy, not having been worked out in detail for two main reasons, that they would relate to an educational future whose character had not as yet been fully determined, and that they were largely dependent on a statutory framework deemed generally satisfactory by the SED in terms of equality of opportunity, but whose procedures for implementation had not been properly applied. Commenting on the statutory framework, the memorandum noted that in the main, the Scottish educational system was sound but that it needed extension and improvement in some directions, and particularly in regard to the 14-18 age group. It was proposed in this

draft that the problem of leakage from the secondary school should be tackled by the education authorities rather than the central Department, that

Education Authorities should make more generous use of their power to grant bursaries, and there should be a more liberal provision of alternative courses in Senior Secondary Schools.⁵²

Section 15 of the 1918 Act had given a firm statutory basis to plans for the introduction of compulsory continuation classes after the first World War. This section of the Act had contemplated a system of part-time day continuation classes, attendance at which would be compulsory on all young people up to the age of 18 unless they were exempted by their education authority or were receiving full-time education. The classes were to meet for at least 320 hours a year and to provide general education, vocational instruction, and physical training. Although it was never put into operation as a compulsory measure, the scheme had the approval of Parliament, and this memorandum suggested that compulsory continuation classes on the lines laid down by the 1918 Act, with any necessary modifications, could be introduced, "at the earliest possible date after the war".⁵³ It was envisaged that a Youth Service being built up under the auspices of the Scottish Youth Committee, would be expanded, and linked up, as far as might be found expedient, with the formal instruction given in continuation classes.

The provision for advanced technical education in Scotland was recognised as being fairly adequate by the memorandum, but it was noted to be concentrated almost entirely in the four large cities and therefore not easily accessible to students living in other parts of the country. The fourth Advisory Council had, however, proposed an expansion of provision of technical education, and had recommended that towns with a population of over 15000 should have centres of technical education to cater for a variety of students. They would meet the needs of full-time students who would attend alternately at technical school and at the works, those of day continuation

class students, and older evening class students, and also the needs of school pupils whose own school lacked advanced equipment. The memorandum proposed that this scheme be implemented, and that local advisory committees should be set up in all the larger centres to co-ordinate demands on technical education facilities.

This draft memorandum, though later subjected to revision and amendment, remained the basis of the Department's detailed schemes for post-war reconstruction. It not only expressed concisely and comprehensively what the Department felt to be a sound strategy for bringing about a greater degree of educational opportunity to the Scottish system, it also described how that greater degree of opportunity might be incorporated to post-war expansion of the areas that had hitherto been undeveloped or neglected.

* * * * *

At a meeting of the Secretariat and HMCIs in June, some amendments were made to the draft memorandum "Proposals for the development of the educational system", aimed mainly at improving provision for the 14-18 age group, and in the rural areas by means of hostels for the older secondary school pupils and the continuation class group, but the second draft was no radical departure from the first one. This second draft remained on the Department's files until copies of it were sent to Holmes, and R S Wood, another senior official of the Board, in late September. Mackay Thomson's covering letter to Holmes explained how Thomson had intended to use the memorandum, and how the creation by Tom Johnston, the new Secretary of State, of an Advisory Council on Post-War Problems had interfered with these plans.

Tom Johnston has not yet seen /the memorandum/. It was my intention to submit it to him for consideration and then, after such amendment as he thought fit, to Greenwood's Committee, which is expecting something of the kind from all departments. But our position has been dismally complicated by the creation of "The Advisory Council on Post-War problems", consisting of ex-Secretaries of State for Scotland, which is to advise the Secretary of State as to the institution

of enquiries into reconstruction proposals. It therefore seems unlikely that we shall have anything definite to put up to Greenwood until S of S has got the "All Clear" from his new Council, and when this will be must depend on whether any of our proposals are thought by the Council to need enquiry and examination.

If the new Council decides to institute any enquiries into /educational matters/ they will probably, in the first instance, remit them to our Advisory Council, which can be reinforced for the purpose of any particular remit.⁵⁴

It would appear to have been the case, therefore, that Mackay Thomson would have preferred post-war policy to have been made within the Department and then referred to London without the intervention of "external" bodies. But if "external" bodies were going to be required, he preferred that the Scottish Advisory Council on Education should act as a mediator rather than have just the Advisory Council on Post-War problems interposing itself between the SED and Greenwood's Committee. In the meantime, Johnston and Westwood had been supplied only with copies of "The Green Book" proposals together with SED's comments on existing Scottish provision in the light of these proposals.

Mackay Thomson's wish that the Advisory Council on Education should be consulted was first expressed in a circular to the Secretariat in August, soliciting from each of his assistants questions that might be suitable for Johnston's new Council.

As you are aware, the S of S is setting up a Council on Post War Problems, and the selection of members is at present under consideration.

I shall be glad if you will let me have a note of any matters which in your opinion are suitable for reference to this new Council. My own opinion is that any problems with which we are likely to be confronted are much more suitable for reference to our own Advisory Council than to this new body,⁵⁵

In his reply, R T Hawkins, the Assistant Secretary with responsibility for adult education, agreed that the new Council was not properly constituted to make enquiries and report on the various adjustments of educational machinery and provision which would be necessary in the post-war period.⁵⁶ He noted, however, that

the new Council might usefully review any proposals for post-war educational reconstruction made either by the Department or the Advisory Council on Education. Parker, in his response to Mackay Thomson's circular, did not comment on the value or otherwise of submitting questions to Johnston's Council, he merely offered two remits, probably suggested by his analysis, "Proposals for the development of the educational system".

(A) To consider what modifications, if any, are desirable in the scheme for compulsory continuation classes contained in section 15 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, with a view to its being brought into operation as soon as possible after the war. Having regard particularly to the difficulty of making suitable provision in rural areas.

(B) To consider whether the existing facilities for technical education in Scotland require modification or expansion in order to meet the needs of industry and commerce after the war.⁵⁷

Parker's suggestions were supported by Mackay Thomson, and in his formal reply to the Under-Secretary of State, conveying his opinion that these two matters should be brought to the attention of the Advisory Council on Post-War Problems, the Secretary again referred to the role that a reconstituted Advisory Council on Education might play

..... in view of the nature of the questions, it is to be hoped that the Council, before expressing a final opinion on them, will think fit to refer them to the Department's Advisory Council, which consists of members specially selected for their ability to deal with intricate educational issues.⁵⁸

If Mackay Thomson had expected a speedy response to his request that the Advisory Council on Education should again be brought into play, he was sorely disappointed. For although the Advisory Council on Post-War Problems had been set up specifically to select subjects for enquiry, and advise on the personnel to conduct these enquiries, it took five meetings and five months to broach the topic of "School Buildings",⁵⁹ and a full year (9 meetings) before reference was made to the SED proposals regarding a

Council on Education. In planning for post-war reconstruction, the Council of ex-Secretaries of State had discussed fully hydro-electricity, hospital development, hill sheep farming and the herring industry, and had set up committees to deal with these matters. Also demanding the Council's attention had been the location of industry, water supply and housing, matters clearly of importance to post-war recovery – and other topics less obviously of national priority, such as the manufacture of synthetic vitamin B1, nettles for paper making cellulose, and bank messengers' uniforms.

Although a representative of the SED had attended each of the meetings of the Advisory Council on Post-War Problems, it was not until 2nd September, 1942, that the reconstitution of the Advisory Council on Education was dealt with.⁶⁰ Between September, 1941, and May, 1942, therefore, in spite of its being on the "reconstruction" agenda, no progress was made with regard to reconstituting that Advisory Council. In the spring of 1942, however, as has been noted, Arthur Woodburn had passed on to the SED, via the Secretary of State, Harry Bell's notes, "Reconstruction in Scottish Education". In his covering letter to Woodburn, Bell had explained that these notes expressed a personal point of view, "not the official view of the Association of Headteachers, although many Headmasters would endorse the proposals".⁶¹ In suggesting a review of Scottish education, Bell's proposals had much in common with current advocacy, but where Bell differed in approach from other individuals and interest groups was in proposing to the Secretary of State that "special machinery is required"⁶² to bring into effect the desired reforms, and in enlisting the aid of a high-ranking politician, Woodburn. Bell noted that the new "special machinery" might be on the lines of the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education, and though acknowledging the existence of the Scottish Advisory Council on Education, he regarded that body as unsuitable to conduct the major survey he had in mind, it being held in no high regard by the Scottish educational community at that time. Rather than the Advisory Council, he proposed

That a Commission or Committee be appointed by the Secretary

of State for Scotland to make a survey of Scottish education (Nursery, Primary, Secondary, Technical and Adult) in the light of modern requirements.⁶³

claiming that

It would be too much to expect the present Advisory Council, which was not appointed for such a specific purpose, to carry out this task.⁶⁴

He suggested that members should be drawn from several sources, and that they should be chosen as individuals rather than as delegates. Among his other recommendations with regard to his proposed Commission or Committee were that

This Committee should have a centre of its own somewhere in Edinburgh other than St Andrew's House.

There should be a small working library and contact should be maintained with educational advances in all fields.

There should be a small permanent staff under the Secretary with an experienced Civil Servant to act as liaison officer with the Department.⁶⁵

The intercession of Woodburn on Bell's behalf had ensured political monitoring of the SED's reply, but in passing on the notes to the Department Johnston had indicated that there was no urgency in dealing with the proposals.⁶⁶ The first official to give a considered opinion on Bell's suggestions was Parker, who in a minute to Mackay Thomson expressed the view that he agreed with Bell that an enquiry of some sort into Scottish education was due, but that the "Commission or Committee" proposed by Bell was not the appropriate body to hold this enquiry. His gravest fear seems to have been the creation of a permanent body whose business would be to sit in more or less continuous session, with its own staff. On an extremely practical level, he expressed doubts as to the competence of any one committee to make headway with the wide remits that Bell had proposed.

The first question is the scope of the enquiry. Mr Bell proposes

that it should cover all forms of education with which the Department are concerned, namely, nursery, primary, secondary, technical and adult education. This is clearly too wide a field to cover in one enquiry, and if there is to be any enquiry at all it should be limited to one part of the field.⁶⁷

Among his comments and observations on Bell's proposals, Parker remarked that Bell seemed to have misunderstood the functions of the Advisory Council, that the function that Bell had suggested for his Commission or Committee were those appropriate to the Advisory Council, either as currently constituted or reconstituted as a body expressly for Bell's purpose. If a survey of any sort were to be made, Parker regarded the Advisory Council as the appropriate body to make it.

Having taken advice from Parker, Mackay Thomson's reply to Johnston echoed Parker's reservations, and he was unenthusiastic in recommending any enquiry at all.

I hardly think that you are likely to feel that his suggestions would lead to anything which we cannot secure through existing machinery when you decide the time is ripe.

The remedy is in the hands of the Headmasters themselves, and before considering whether any official action is required you may prefer to await the result of the enquiries which Mr Bell's Association is now conducting among its members.⁶⁸

Indeed, Mackay Thomson from his first receiving Bell's proposal would have seemed to have preferred a policy of no action. He had confided in Parker "..... the more I consider /Bell's/ suggestions, the less I like them".⁶⁹ In spite of procrastinating inclinations in this instance, however, and a distaste for Bell's permanent advisory body, Mackay Thomson had already accepted that any survey of Scottish education called for ought to be entrusted to a reconstituted Advisory Council. The Secretary's original reply to Johnston was amended from advising courteous acknowledgment of Bell's notes, but no more than that in the short term, to an acceptance that the Advisory Council ought to be reconstituted for the purpose of making "special enquiries". There is no documented reason as to why the handwritten amendment to the original minute should have been made. Its effect, however, was to urge the

reconstituting of the Advisory Council that Mackay Thomson had advocated in August, 1941. Johnston's reply to Bell, as drafted by Mackay Thomson, was

I have read with interest the notes on Reconstruction in Scottish Education which you sent me recently.

I can assure you that I am fully alive to the desirability of instituting enquiries into certain aspects of this question, and that indeed, I am now considering whether the Department's Advisory Council should be reinforced and given special enquiries to undertake

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.....

In signing this, Johnston had virtually given a positive commitment to the reconstituting of the Advisory Council at an early date.

In a paper headed "Notes for discussion: 20th July 1942",⁷¹ which was apparently Mackay Thomson's agenda for a meeting between himself and the Secretary of State, certain questions and pencilled replies are shown. This paper makes clear that in the near future Johnston intended to discuss with his Council of ex-Secretaries of State the reconstituting of the Advisory Council on Education and the work it was to do. There is clear indication in this paper that Johnston favoured a larger Council than had hitherto sat, to be increased by the addition of MPs "to kill their nuisance value".⁷² A larger Council would require a new order in council being drafted, but this was not seen by Mackay Thomson as being altogether a disadvantage as a new order could adjust the terms of the constitution to take into account the nature of the work required of the new Advisory Council. The reconstituted Advisory Council as envisaged by Mackay Thomson and Johnston at the time of that meeting⁷³ would consist of 15 rather than 12 members, including 3 MPs; would be appointed for three rather than for five years; and in order that a strong chairman would control it, both the chairman and the vice-chairman would be appointed by the Secretary of State rather than be elected by Council members as had formerly been the case.

The drafting of the new order in council was undertaken by T Grainger Stewart an Assistant Secretary, who was to become Secretary of the sixth Advisory Council. In

the course of successive drafts the membership of the Council was progressively increased. By July the number seemed to have been in the region of 20, but by October it could not be kept below the eventual twenty-five. The regulating factor in determining the number of individuals on the Council was the Act of 1918, expressing the two-thirds formula: every "other interest" appointed by the Secretary of State had to be matched by two members "qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education".⁷⁴ The appointment of members seems, in fact, to have been somewhat unsystematic, Johnston expressing some preferences of his own, and the Department supplying a list of nominees, and selecting from it.

At the ninth meeting of the Advisory Council on Post-War Problems, held on 2/9/42, the SED presented a briefing paper giving the background to the Advisory Council on Education. Approved by Johnston, and circulated in his name, it laid down the following terms of constitution :-

(a) That the membership should be increased from twelve to twenty-one;

(b) That they should hold office for three years and not five;

(c) That the Secretary of State rather than the Council itself, should appoint a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman.⁷⁵

Explaining the object of the changes, in reply to an enquiry from Lord Alness,⁷⁶ Johnston stated that they would

..... widen the scope of the Council by enabling it to be in more or less continuous session, and to give opportunity for the appointment of sub-committees, for the examination of particular questions, consisting partly of Council members and partly of additional members selected by the Secretary of State with the advice of the Council of State.⁷⁷

The assumption at this meeting was that the reconstituted Council should have a membership of 21, and the briefing paper gave the breakdown of how that 21 should be made up. It also included a list of nominees with summary curriculum vitae of each. At this stage, the proposal was that the new Council should be made up of the

five of the eleven survivors of the previous Council who had indicated their willingness to serve again, together with 16 others, as below.

- 1 Chairman;
- 5 teachers, representing the EIS and the Association of Secondary School Headmasters;
- 1 Director of Education;
- 1 representative of Adult education;
- 2 experts in Domestic Science or representatives of one of the Colleges of Domestic Science;
- 3 Members of Parliament;
- 3 representatives of other interests.⁷⁸

At the next meeting of this Council, it was confirmed that both the first choice Chairman and Vice-Chairman had accepted these posts, and two of the three MPs who had been invited to serve had indicated a willingness to do so. The third, Henderson Stewart, was shortly to accept membership, and the SED on the assumption that there would be three MPs on the Council, had presented a list of 24 members, this higher number not being objected to. It seemed, in fact, that the sixth Advisory Council would consist of 24 members until Walter Elliot, the Conservative Secretary of State for Scotland from 1936 to 1938, stated that

..... looking at the Council as a whole, /he/ felt that a slightly stronger representation of women would be advantageous. Only three women were proposed, all of them unmarried. He thought it would be of advantage if a woman who was both married and a mother could be added to the Council as an additional representative of "other interests". In discussion, the names of Lady Elgin and Mrs Bridget McEwen were mentioned. It was pointed out that if Mrs McEwen were added to the Council she would strengthen the Roman Catholic representation.⁷⁹

It was accordingly agreed that Mrs McEwen⁸⁰ should be invited to become a member of the Council, and with membership now being fixed at 25, the new order in council could be brought into effect. It provided that

(a) The Advisory Council should consist of 25 members, appointed by the Secretary of State. Not less than 17 of the members should be qualified to represent the views of the various bodies interested in education.

(b) The term of office of the Council should be three years.

(c) The Chairman and the Vice-Chairman should be appointed by the Secretary of State.

(d) The Secretary of State should have the right to appoint special committees of the Advisory Council, and make references to these committees which should report to the Advisory Council in the first instance, and nominate the members of these special committees.⁸¹

An order in council on these lines was duly approved by Tom Johnston on 19th October, effectively bringing the sixth Advisory Council into being.

* * * * *

Having established the composition of the new Advisory Council and secured authorisation of the new order, the question as to what should be its remits was as yet unresolved. Mackay Thomson noted in a minute to Parker "We shall have to suggest to S of S some work for the new Advisory Council to do".⁸² Section 20 of the 1918 Act could yet be interpreted as leaving open to the Council the possibility of its selecting its own subjects for enquiry, and while none of the former Councils had availed themselves of this measure of independence, Mackay Thomson was not keen that the sixth Council should set a precedent in this matter. He concluded "..... it would be better, I think, to follow our old procedure and feed them with remits".⁸³ Mackay Thomson's preferred remit for the Council related to secondary education and its attendant examinations structure, "much on the lines of the Norwood Committee".⁸⁴ He also acknowledged that other matters might be referred to the Council: the primary school curriculum was being looked at by a panel of Inspectors, but might fall within the province of the Advisory Council; the imminence of legislation on compulsory continuation classes marked that sector as a suitable area of enquiry; and both provision of technical education and a possible post-war shortage of teachers were matters of concern to the Department.

Having taken advice from his colleagues in the Secretariat, Mackay Thomson produced a first draft of a minute to Johnston on the subject of remits on 30th October.⁸⁵ In

this draft minute he proposed advising the Secretary of State that the new Advisory Council should be given one of three suggested remits: the curriculum and examination system of secondary schools; the recruitment and training of teachers; architectural and building planning of schools. He drew attention also to the fact that other remits might be given once the new Council had become used to working as a body, but emphasised that only one remit, and preferably a remit similar to one already being undertaken by a committee in England, should be offered in the first instance.

This draft minute was not, however, allowed to stand, and the revised version of 9th November recommended only one remit to be dealt with by the Council in the first instance:-

To consider the organisation and curricula of secondary schools, and the regulations for the award of the Junior Leaving Certificate and the Senior Leaving Certificate.⁸⁶

On the topic of remits, the final advice given to Johnston was :-

- 1 That the Council should not remit itself but be given one remit only in the first place, as above.
- 2 That at a later stage other remits might be offered, viz
 - The development of compulsory continuation classes
 - Provision of Technical Education
 - Organisation and Curriculum of Primary schools
 - Recruitment and Training of Teachers
 - School Planning and Buildings⁸⁷

The rationale offered by Mackay Thomson in recommending this procedure, and the sequence of remits roughly in the order above, was that he saw technical education as being dependent on proposals and possible legislation on compulsory continuation classes, and that the remit on primary education might best take as a starting point the recommendations of the Panel of the Inspectorate currently dealing with the

problem. Recruitment and training of teachers, and school planning and building were argued to be consequential of developments of school curricula and certificating arrangements. Also in this minute, Mackay Thomson referred to Hamilton Fyfe, the newly-appointed Chairman of the Council, who had expressed a certain coolness towards one of Johnston's enthusiasms, Education for Citizenship. Johnston had requested that the Department should "sound out" Hamilton Fyfe on the topic of citizenship. The Chairman's reply had been disappointing.

You asked me to give the Chairman a copy of the Memorandum on Training for Citizenship, and to find out whether he thought a remit on that subject should be considered. He has replied "The pamphlet /sent to Hamilton Fyfe/ seems to me to go as far as it is possible to go, before the future pattern of school education is decided. Until then I do not think that one can get any further down to details".⁸⁸

Mackay Thomson did not comment further on citizenship as his interests lay elsewhere. Clearly, at the time of writing this minute, he envisaged the work of the Council as dovetailing with the policy of the Department, marching in time with legislation, and matching long-term planning in England. The remit on secondary education, arguably, commanded priority with the expectation that the leaving age would be raised to 15 in the immediate post-war period, and in its own proposals for Reconstruction, the Department had been conscious of anomalies in this area. There was an expected likelihood of continuation classes being made compulsory, of effect being given to the relevant section of the 1918 Act, and there^{25A} Percy Committee was currently sitting in England, discussing this very matter. The Norwood Committee was investigating the secondary curriculum and related system of examinations, and the McNair Committee was considering teacher training. The programme devised by Mackay Thomson was therefore parallel, but posterior to, that of England.

On this occasion, however, Johnston was not content to be guided by his professional advisers, and in a teleprinter message from the Scottish Office in Whitehall to Mackay Thomson, it was pointed out that the Secretary of State had required Parker, in

London, to re-draft the brief to the Council

The following draft was put before the Secretary of State by Parker last night in response to instructions given to him by S of S.

I propose to ask the Council in the first instance to deal with the following remits :-

1 To consider the organisation and curricula of secondary schools, and the regulations for the award of the Junior Leaving Certificate and the Senior Leaving Certificate, and to make such recommendations as may seem desirable.

2 To consider how the educational system of the country can most effectively contribute to the training of young people so that they may be properly equipped to discharge the duties and exercise the rights of citizenship.

3 To consider whether the existing facilities for technical education in Scotland, including technical education in day schools, require any modification or expansion in order to meet the needs of commerce and industry after the war.⁸⁹

The principle that remits should not be considered simultaneously, which had been recommended by Mackay Thomson, was brushed aside, and Hamilton Fyfe's conclusion that citizenship could not be taken further as an issue in education had obviously been ignored by Johnston.

In increasing the number of prescribed remits from one to three, Johnston was to offer the Council greater scope than the Department had envisaged, and in the draft address to the Council for its first meeting, the Secretary of State's liberality in encouraging the initiative of the Council was given further expression. In spite of Mackay Thomson's advice to the contrary, he intended that in his address he would encourage their right to remit themselves. Between the 12th and 27th of November, the workload was further increased and at the first meeting of the Council, five and not three remits were laid down for consideration - a remit on the organisation and curriculum of the primary school, and one on the recruitment and training of teachers were added to the three already decided upon. Johnston's intention had been to ask much of the Council, and the rhetoric of his address went somewhat beyond the speech written in consultation with Parker. The drafted

..... if you feel that there are any other subjects related to education in Scotland that call for your consideration at the present time I shall be glad to have your suggestions⁹⁰

became in the minuted account of the address

He /S of S/ hoped they would regard themselves not as a mere committee of inquiry to report on remits specifically given them by the Council of State. He hoped they would regard themselves as a parliament of education, that they would select their own subjects for inquiry, and that they would discuss among themselves priority questions in education.⁹¹

Although he required the Council to submit their suggested remits to the SED before embarking on precise enquiries, the tone of his speech, that "Their field was the child from the nursery school to adult education",⁹² and that "All the facilities of the Scottish Education Department would be at their disposal"⁹³ apparently fired the Council with a sense of its centrality in shaping Scottish educational policy for the future.

In response to Johnston's address, the Council offered to tackle no fewer than eleven remits,⁹⁴ and to settle upon a procedure for dealing with them. At that first meeting of the Council, to be confirmed at the second meeting in December,⁹⁵ it was agreed that three remits, citizenship, primary education, and a remit on secondary education extended to include continuation education, should be dealt with by the whole Council, and that the remaining eight remits should be dealt with by committees of the Council, two of which should be strengthened by the addition of appointed members. The method of proceeding agreed upon, therefore, was to follow that of the first Advisory Council, several remits being tackled simultaneously either by the Council as a whole or by committees whose immediate responsibility was to the Council.

It dismayed the Department that the Advisory Council was prepared to commit itself to such a heavy burden of work. Apart from taking natural umbrage that their carefully laid plans with regard to remits had been upset, there might well have been good

reason why the Council should limit the scope of its enquiries and undertake a less ambitious strategy. Although the membership of the Council had been doubled from that of the fifth Council, with the option to appoint "outsiders" reaffirmed, the term of office of the Council was laid down as three years, a very limited time in which to analyse and make recommendations upon nearly all aspects of Scottish education. Furthermore, because of the demands of the war effort, Department officials, who would have to attend to secretarial aspects of the Council's deliberations, had been transferred to other departments.⁹⁶

Disquiet that the Advisory Council might have saddled itself with an excessive burden was not limited to the Department. Garnet Wilson, the Vice-Chairman, who had presided at the first meeting of the Council in the absence of Hamilton Fyfe, and who had been a member of the pre-war Council, wrote to Mackay Thomson, expressing concern, and attributing the Council's apparent excess of zeal to the Secretary of State's exhortatory address.

I fear that the spirit of inquiry latent in the Secretary of State's address at the first meeting is responsible for this eagerness to do a big job⁹⁷

In his reply to this letter, Mackay Thomson stated

My own inclination would have been to concentrate on a smaller list of remits and deal with them more thoroughly and intensively.

..... As regards the work that will fall upon our officials if these eleven remits are to be dealt with concurrently, or nearly so, I shall do my best to meet your needs - But the staffing position in this Department, is becoming increasingly difficult,⁹⁸

The general feeling in the Department was that the workload that the Advisory Council had proposed to take on was unmanageable, but the Secretariat warned Mackay Thomson that in view of the enthusiasm of the Council itself, and of Johnston, that the matter of suggesting reduction in scope would have to be conducted diplomatically.⁹⁹ From within the Council, Garnet Wilson offered some hope of a

pragmatic solution in suggesting that the Council would probably make priorities of certain remits when the extent of the proposed workload became clearer.¹⁰⁰

As Mackay Thomson saw it, however, something had to be done about reducing the width of the Advisory Council's enquiries, and he sought his colleagues' advice on this matter. Most helpful was that of Grainger Stewart, who, as Secretary of the Council, could offer an insight to the internal dynamics of it. Grainger Stewart noted that the proposers of remits at the first Council meeting had been "those who had a special interest in the subjects",¹⁰¹ adding that

These members would naturally be annoyed if their special subjects were relegated to the background, but I doubt if the Council as a whole would be seriously annoyed. But it might be a case of "you support me, and I will support you."¹⁰²

Thus encouraged, and incorporating much of Grainger Stewart's advice in his own minute, Mackay Thomson wrote to Johnston on Christmas Day, 1942, offering the following reasons for curtailing the Advisory Council's programme.

(a) Their recommendations on some of the matters involved will carry much more weight if they are made after taking evidence from persons and bodies concerned: certain of them will necessitate consultation with a number of interests if the Council's findings are to be of any value at all. In present conditions this may prove an awkward and protracted business.

(b) Apart from the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, who are ex officio members of all Committees, some members will be sitting on as many as four Committees in addition to considering three remits in full Council. I doubt if they will be able to spare the time from their other occupations the time all this work deserves, when the time many of them will have to spend on travelling is taken into account.

(c) The provision from our reduced staff, of secretaries for eight committees can only be made at the expense of other Departmental work which is already receiving less attention than it should do. In addition, the preparation of memoranda, statistical statements, etc, on the scale required by so many committees will impose a new strain on the Department at the very time we are being pressed, as you are aware, to consider the possibility of staff reduction.

(d) The Department of Health's Advisory Committee on Housing is working through five Sub-Committees: no subject is under consideration by the Committee as a whole. This is a much more manageable programme.

(e) England has three separate ad hoc Committees considering less than three of the subjects our Advisory Council proposes to tackle; one of them (on the Training of Teachers) has been sitting for over a year already, but Mr Butler does not expect it to report for about 18 months yet.¹⁰³

Suggestions were made in this minute as to how some of the remits proposed by the Advisory Council might be amended; that secondary education and continuation education, for example, deserved separate enquiry, as the latter could not usefully be considered until the Government's legislative intentions were known. Mackay Thomson also pointed out that some of the proposed remits, such as that on approved schools, would almost certainly be better dealt with in connection with juvenile delinquency and on a UK basis. With regard to some of the less urgent remits, he expressed the hope that they might be left on the list, "but placed last, in the hope that the Council will never reach them".¹⁰⁴

This minute was followed up by a discussion between Mackay Thomson and Johnston on 28th December, with Dr Jardine, an Assistant Secretary who was to become a member of the first post-war Council, in attendance. The effective result of this meeting was that the number of remits endorsed by Johnston as suitable for the Council's immediate attention, was reduced to four main areas of inquiry, citizenship, primary education, secondary education, and the recruitment and training of teachers.¹⁰⁵ The remits on citizenship and primary education were to be pursued as worded by the Council at the meeting of 17th December, but that on secondary education was reframed to exclude continuation classes. As a consequence of enquiries in this area, it was suggested that remits on technical education, commercial education, and rural and agricultural education might be taken up at a later stage. The remit on the recruitment of teachers could be followed up by one on the training of teachers, as the Council itself had proposed.

Having secured Johnston's approval of this reduced programme of work, Mackay Thomson drew up a draft of a letter to be sent to the Council under Johnston's

signature, outlining the approved remits and offering Mackay Thomson's arguments for the refusal or subordination of others. Grainger Stewart was asked to re-word the draft, which Mackay Thomson regarded as a bitter pill for the Advisory Council to swallow, but one that Grainger Stewart might render not only "more palatable" but also "more cathartic."¹⁰⁶ The final version of the letter to the Council was dated 8th January, and concluded with Johnston's assurance that he had been in consultation with the Council of State on this matter, and that they had concurred with his views. Before committing himself to requiring this reduction in remits, Johnston had taken the precaution of consulting first with Garnet Wilson, who acted as Chairman of the Council at its first two meetings, in the absence of Hamilton Fyfe.

The official letter from Mackay Thomson writing on behalf of the Secretary of State¹⁰⁷ requested the reduction of the number of remits from eleven to four. The letter was discussed at the Advisory Council meeting of 22nd January. Disappointment was expressed within the ranks of the Council that the wide survey anticipated had been narrowed, but the general point, that the Department would be unable to service so many committees, was taken. The two MPs present, Major Lloyd and Henderson Stewart registered resentment that the work of the Advisory Council was to be restricted, Lloyd expressing particular concern at the proposed exclusion of an inquiry into arrangements for the control and administration of education. He was supported in this by Henderson Stewart, who stated that

He understood that the purpose of the Council was to advise the Government what to do. Unless this was in fact the purpose he did not see much use in attending meetings of the Council.¹⁰⁸

Other Council members were clearly of the same mind, unanimously carrying Lloyd's resolution

That the Advisory Council deplore the fact that the Secretary of State had not invited them to submit a priority report on what modifications, if any, are required in the arrangements for controlling and administering the public educational services in Scotland and resolve to ask the Secretary of State to re-consider his decision.¹⁰⁹

A different type of response, however, was given to the proposed exclusion of an inquiry into adult education as a remit for prompt attention. It was suggested by Ernest Greenhill, Chairman of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in Scotland, and approved by the Council, that the committee appointed at the previous meeting to consider the question of adult education might conduct a less intensive enquiry than had originally been envisaged, and thereby make lighter demands on SED staff. With this end in mind, rather than co-opt "outsiders", as had originally been proposed,

It was agreed that a committee composed of the members already appointed from the Council should, without prior reference to the Secretary of State, hold a preliminary meeting under the chairmanship of Mr Greenhill, and should proceed on the lines suggested by him.¹¹⁰

With regard to the Department's proposal that the remit on secondary education should be restricted to exclude any consideration of continuation education, the Council was of the opinion that the educational problem of children from ages 12 to 18 should be regarded as a whole. Accordingly, it was agreed that the Secretary of State should be informed of the Council's strong feeling that they should consider this remit in terms of its original wording and not as had been subsequently changed.

As a result of this meeting of the Council, three points were referred back to the Secretary of State:-

1 That the Council deplored the refusal to approve the remit on the control and administration of education, and that this decision should be reconsidered;

2 That the original wording of the remit on Secondary education should stand;

3 That the Council proposed to deal with a limited enquiry into Adult education immediately, ie that voluntary bodies as well as Education Authorities should be recognised for grant purposes.¹¹¹

Alerted to the Council's conclusions, Mackay Thomson expressed his dismay that the Council should be determined to go ahead with even a limited enquiry into the

financing of adult education. In a minute to Hawkins, the Assistant Secretary with responsibility for that sector, he stated that he was against their taking up that remit, but Hawkins' reply that, "..... no embarrassing position is likely to arise as a result of an enquiry into this grant question",¹¹² apparently persuaded Mackay Thomson against active opposition to the Advisory Council's initiative in this matter. On 9th February, at a meeting between Johnston and Grainger Stewart, the Secretary of State's formal response to the Advisory Council's letter of 2nd February was composed. The modified remit on adult education was accepted, the wider remit on secondary education consented to, and the remit on administration refused. Johnston's rationale in refusing the remit on administration was given in a minute from Grainger Stewart to Jardine,

..... As regards administration he /Johnston/ was not antagonistic to the principle of inquiry; indeed he favoured one. But the present was not a suitable time to institute such an inquiry. The Government had given repeated pledges that they would not promote controversial legislation for the post-war period during the war. Any change in the machinery of local government was bound to be a highly controversial issue, and if the Advisory Council began to inquire into the subject, undesirable controversy which would be regarded as a preliminary to legislation, was certain to arise,

¹¹³

Accordingly, a letter was sent to the Advisory Council on 11th February expressing the Secretary of State's permission to proceed with the amended remits on secondary and adult education, but withholding his permission to enquire into administration, giving reasons as expressed above for doing so. By early February, therefore, the Advisory Council had five remits¹¹⁴ to deal with, either in full Council or in committees of the Council, with no "outsiders" privy to their deliberations. In a reply to a parliamentary question of 15th March, Johnston stated that

After obtaining the views of the Advisory Council on Education as to the subjects into which they should enquire and their relative urgency, and with the approval of the Council of ex-Secretaries of State, I have made five remits to the Advisory Council.¹¹⁵

In making this announcement, he formally signalled the end of the protracted process of setting the sixth Advisory Council to productive work. First called for, though in unspecific terms, by the ADES in 1941, a move supported and emulated by other sources of pressure, outright rejection of suggestions for a reviewing committee by the SED changed to an acceptance in principle of the need for one once it became clear that the Department was not to be allowed to formulate policy without "external" monitoring. By late 1941, Mackay Thomson had begun to make representations to his political masters that reconstituting the Advisory Council would assist the efforts of newer and less specialised reviewing bodies in the field of education. The receipt of Bell's proposal proved opportune, giving the Secretariat an appeal from a reputable pressure group, which could be construed as a call for reconstituting the Advisory Council on Education, a body which in the immediate pre-war period had been reassuringly responsive to the Department's promptings. The new Council's early meetings, however, encouraged by Johnston's enthusiastic approach had at first seemed to indicate that it would act entirely according to its own volition, but by the spring of 1943, it was apparently settling to the tasks set for it by the Department, the Secretary of State, and one of its own choosing that was unlikely to entail unpleasant repercussions for the SED. The problem of being seen to match England in educational advance was to be resolved by resorting to a proven and trusted advisory structure.

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5. Scottish Educational Journal, 23/5/41, p 338.

6. Ramsbotham was replaced by Butler as President of the B of E in 1941.
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10. The Advisory Council on Post-War Problems was often referred to as "The Council of ex-Secretaries of State" or "the Council of State" as well as by its official title.
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70. ED 8/22, Secretary of State to Bell, 8/6/42.
71. ED 8/22, "Notes for discussion: 20th July, 1942".
72. ED 8/22, Mackay Thomson to Hamilton (Scottish Office), 12/8/42.
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80. Mrs Bridget McEwen was the wife of Captain J H F McEwen, MP, a former Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland.

81. ED 8/22, Final draft of new order in council, approved by Secretary of State, 19/10/42.
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97. ED 8/22, Garnet Wilson to Mackay Thomson, 17/12/42.
98. ED 8/22, Mackay Thomson to Garnet Wilson, 18/12/42.
99. ED 8/22, Jardine to Mackay Thomson, 21/12/42; Parker to Mackay Thomson, 21/12/42; Hawkins to Mackay Thomson, 21/12/42.
100. ED 8/22, Garnet Wilson to Mackay Thomson, 21/12/42.
101. ED 8/22, Grainger Stewart to Mackay Thomson, 22/12/42.
102. Ibid.
103. ED 8/22, Mackay Thomson to Secretary of State, 25/12/42.
104. Ibid.
105. ED 8/22, Mackay Thomson to Grainger Stewart, 4/1/43, in which the Secretary asked Grainger Stewart to re-word Johnston's "prescription".
106. Ibid.

107. ED 8/22, Mackay Thomson to Advisory Council, 8/1/43.
108. ED 8/23, Meeting of Advisory Council, 22/1/43.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Adapted from ED 8/22, letter from Advisory Council to Secretary of State, 2/2/43.
112. ED 8/22, Hawkins to Mackay Thomson, 4/2/43.
113. ED 8/22, Grainger Stewart to Jardine, 9/2/43.
114. Remits given to the Council early in 1943 :-

1 To consider how the educational system of Scotland can most effectively contribute to training in the duties, rights and practice of citizenship, and to make recommendations.

2 To review the educational provision in Scotland for children from the time of entry into the nursery school until the completion of primary education, and the arrangements for promoting them from primary to secondary education, and to make recommendations.

3 To review the educational provision in Scotland for young people who have completed their primary education and have not attained the age of eighteen years or discontinued full-time attendance at school, whichever is the later, the examinations for which they may be presented, and the certificates which may be awarded, and to make recommendations.

4 To consider whether the existing arrangements for the recruitment and supply of teachers in Scotland are adequate, and to make recommendations.

5 To consider whether grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund should be made to voluntary organisations making provision in Scotland for the education of adults of eighteen years of age and over, and if so, under what conditions, and to make recommendations.

115. ED 8/22, Johnston's reply to Lindsay's question number 4, 15/3/43.

Chapter 6

The Work of the sixth Council

From the Department's point of view, the process of launching the Advisory Council on a definite programme of work had clearly been fraught with stress and frustration. On the part of the Council itself, there was considerable debate before procedures and structures were firmly established for the conduct of its business. The sixth Council had little by way of either precedent or experience to refer to, having been constituted on grander lines than previous Councils which, in any case had had their proceedings regulated to a considerable extent by the Department. The Order in Council of 1942¹ offered formal guidelines, while at the same time affording considerable discretion to the Council as to how best it might organise its business, but the new Chairman of the Council, Sir William Hamilton Fyfe, Principal of Aberdeen University, had not served on any previous Council, and there were only five "survivors"² from the fourth Council, the last active one. The regulation of procedure, therefore, tended towards the pragmatic, and in the earliest days of its term of office, the Council proved extremely responsive to the assertions and directives of its more energetic and forceful members. The Department and the Secretary of State himself also made contributions which affected proceedings. Much of the early effort of the Council was in fact devoted to discussing the management of its business, negotiating remits, and devising strategies for dealing with these remits.

Indeed, it was not until May, 1943, that a recognisable pattern to the activities of the Council began to emerge. Two main factors served to impose a discipline on the Council that had not hitherto been markedly in evidence. At the meeting of 22nd January, 1943, it had been resolved that a press notice setting out the terms of remits was to be issued.³ This notice declared the Council's willingness to receive memoranda from bodies or individuals who felt that they had something to contribute

to the Council's discussions. In addition to this general notice a number of selected bodies and individuals were also invited to give evidence.⁴ By April, the amount of evidence received was already presenting a problem. Before the press notice had been issued, sixteen members of the public had submitted views and had offered supporting memoranda. In response to the press notice, fifty-three communications had already been received, with the closing date of 30th June still some ten weeks off. In addition to this response from the public, another 82 bodies and 15 persons had been invited to submit advice. Of these, only 5 bodies and one person had so far declined to assist.⁵ A Council of 25 members was unlikely to make much constructive progress in dealing with this volume of written evidence and any consequential oral evidence until an effective apportioning of work could be devised.

The second factor compelling the Advisory Council towards productive action was a request for urgency from Johnston. At the first meeting of the Council, the Secretary of State had requested that "Their inquiries should as far as possible be directed to reforms or changes which were capable of speedy translation into practice"⁶ and that "He attached the greatest possible importance to the question of adequate training for citizenship".⁷ Johnston's desire for prompt responses was confirmed at the meeting of 16th April by Hamilton Fyfe, who stated that what was required by the Minister was not "full-dress reports on the scale of the Spens Report" but reports on which he (the Secretary of State) could take quick action.⁸ The need to produce tangible results was further emphasised towards the end of that meeting by Henderson Stewart, one of the MPs appointed to the Council, who drew attention to the imminence of a Parliamentary Bill on education in England, and his requesting of the Chairman that he should discuss with the Secretary of State what time-scale the Council should be aiming at in anticipation of a Scottish Bill.

Taking up Henderson Stewart's request, Hamilton Fyfe wrote to Johnston on 10th May, posing two questions:-

(1) Is there any fixed date by which you wish us to report on any matter?

Some members thought you might perhaps want some such reports before you complete the preparation of the bill you have in mind.

(2) Are there in your mind any specific points on which you would like the Council to make early brief report?

This question was asked in reply to my suggestion that such might be of more value than full-dress reports which take months of gestation.⁹

The matter of a forthcoming Bill was not referred to in the reply, rather an appreciation of any recommendation which could be carried through without legislation was expressed. Specifically, interim reports on citizenship, recruitment and supply of teachers, and the continuation classes aspect of the remit on secondary education, were requested by the late autumn.¹⁰ The main effect of this reply was to concentrate attention on the work of the committees of the Council which had undertaken these remits, and push into the background other inquiries that had been embarked on.

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Prior to the meeting of April, 1943. the work of the Council had been allocated somewhat untidily between two committees, Greenhill's and McClelland's, dealing with adult education and teachers, respectively, and the Council as a whole, which had undertaken the three closely related enquiries, citizenship, secondary and primary education. At the April meeting two other committees were convened, Garnet Wilson's on citizenship, and Cameron Smail's on technical and continuation education, and it was with the establishment of these committees that real progress began to be made in dealing with the remits.

A convenient means of conceptualising the work of the committees is Insert 1. In all, thirteen reports were completed by six committees, (the work of the seventh committee, Garnet Wilson's on School Buildings being absorbed into that of the

Departmental Committee on this topic). Three phases of the Council's work can be postulated :-

Phase 1; Early Reports - Reports submitted in response to Johnston's request of 17/5/43 that he would appreciate receiving by the autumn of that year reports on citizenship, recruitment and supply of teachers, and continuation classes.

Phase 2; The Reports of 1944 - Recommendations submitted before the passage through Parliament of the Bill which became the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945. These were on adult education grants, education authority bursaries, and the interim report on technical education.

Phase 3; Later Reports - These are the four major reports which were not submitted until the Act of 1945 had been passed. They are on a much more ambitious scale than the reports which had been presented earlier, expressing the Advisory Council's considered opinion as to the long term future of technical education, the training of teachers, primary education, and secondary education.

EARLY REPORTS

- 1st Report - Continuation Classes (Interim Report),
- 2nd Report - Teachers' Salaries (Interim Report),
- 3rd Report - Extent of the Problem of Supply of Teachers,
- 4th Report - Compulsory Day Continuation Classes,
- 5th Report - Training for Citizenship,
- 6th Report - Teachers: Supply, Recruitment and Training in the Period immediately following the War.

Quite apart from Johnston's own eagerness for results, the Secretary of State was under pressure in the Commons to commit himself to a White Paper on education in Scotland. He equivocated on that matter, claiming that it would only be courteous to the Advisory Council on Education to await their pronouncements, but he added that he had been assured that there would be no undue delay on the Council's part.¹¹ The

Council responded to this public declaration of their efficiency by deciding at the meeting of 17th August that

..... in view of the urgency which the Secretary of State attached to the receipt of reports on Training for Citizenship, Compulsory Continuation classes and Recruitment and Supply of Teachers, these reports should not be held up until all the bodies from whom memoranda were expected had submitted them.¹²

Steps had, in fact, already been taken by McClelland's and Cameron Smail's committees to meet the declared urgency. At their meeting of 24th May, the committee on supply and recruitment of teachers resolved in the light of Johnston's letter to abandon the agenda which had been drawn up for that meeting and to concentrate on replying to Johnston's requests about possible shortages of teachers.¹³ At their corresponding meeting of 28th May, Cameron Smail's group on continuation classes also decided to abandon their agreed procedure, and, as requested, "..... consider the extent to which Section 15 of the Act of 1918 required amendment to meet present day conditions".¹⁴

Both committees had originally seemed set on a longer time-scale than they eventually worked towards in producing their first reports. McClelland's committee, from the start of its enquiries, was concerned that the figures collected on the number of teachers on which shortages were calculated, should be accurate. Indeed, the early meetings of that committee were built round statistics that McClelland had compiled from the records of the Department and the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, of which McClelland himself was the powerful Executive Officer. What McClelland envisaged for his committee, was producing a report in two sections, "one containing a brief forecast of the future demand for teachers, and the other a statement of the recommendations. The recommendations might deal with the short range and long range problems".¹⁵ Of highest priority in his eyes, was the accuracy of the data on which future projections would depend. The voice of McClelland was not, however, the only authoritative one in that committee. Henderson, Stewart, with an

awareness of Parliament's priorities, had from the start of deliberations, urged that the problem was "how to meet the demand".¹⁶ What the committee would have to do, in his opinion, was "arrive quickly at a round figure",¹⁷ and it was Henderson Stewart's strategy rather than McClelland's that was eventually adopted. Between February and May, the emphasis had been on collecting teacher supply data, with a sub-committee being set up to check figures, but at the meeting of 24th May, it was agreed that the committee should immediately recommend an increase in teachers' salaries as the first step towards encouraging recruitment. Accordingly, it was decided that a letter should be sent to the Secretary of State (an Interim Report) stating that the circumstances, (although not yet quantified), justified very substantial increases in teachers' salaries.¹⁸

The next stage of this committee's work was to present figures illustrating where the greatest shortfalls in teacher supply after the war would occur, and, with urgency in mind, it was decided at the committee meeting of 26th June that a draft report would be prepared for the meeting of the full Advisory Council on 9th July. At that June meeting, the committee's sub-committee, which had been set up to check the figures on which supply recommendations were to be based, declared itself satisfied with McClelland's estimates, and without waiting for a reply from the Registrar-General, who had been consulted in the matter of the estimated birth-rate, it was felt that a report could be forwarded.¹⁹ The Advisory Council meeting on 9th July duly approved submission to the Secretary of State, of the report "Extent of the Problem of Supply of Teachers"²⁰ This cleared the way for the last stage of this committee's work, producing a short term policy for the alleviation of the anticipated shortage of teachers in the post-war period.

In fact, neither McClelland himself nor the other members of his committee, perhaps because Henderson Stewart was less frequently in attendance, showed much enthusiasm for this task. Between July and October, however, a number of committee meetings and discussions with interested parties were held, and it became clear that

any recommendations made would have to take into account the recruitment of Services personnel who would require accelerated training. In addition to recognising the need for abbreviated courses to meet that event,²¹ the committee had also concluded that it should recommend the establishment of regional selection boards and a national selection board to co-ordinate their activities.²² The main concern of the committee at this time, however, was that the standards of qualifications for teachers should not be permanently lowered, and the draft of the report emphasised this aspect. Lack of serious commitment to this remit may have been occasioned by an awareness that the Board of Education was at that time engaged in discussions with the War Office regarding plans for the demobilization of servicemen.²³ The Board had, in fact, set up an office committee under Sir Robert Wood to investigate this very matter,²⁴ and the assumption seemed to have been made by McClelland's committee that recruitment to teaching in the immediate post-war period would be on a UK rather than a Scottish basis, with English conditions determining the main strategy. The main business of McClelland's committee, as he himself interpreted it, was to produce a report for the long-term future of teacher training, and Johnston's request for speedy proposals to deal with foreseeable problems, had been treated largely as an inconvenience.

A similar disruption to the programme of the committee on continuation classes occurred, prompting an interim report where none had originally been anticipated. Cameron Smail's committee had been set up "to deal with that part of the remit on secondary education which related both to technical and continued education".²⁵ At the April meeting of the Council where this had been made clear, it was specifically stated that this committee should take as its starting point the 1937 report of the Advisory Council.²⁶ In compliance with this request, Recommendation 1 to Recommendation 24 of the 1937 Report were discussed at the first meeting of the committee on 14th May. The first major item of business dealt with at the next committee meeting a fortnight later, however, was not the 1937 Report, but the

Secretary of State's letter of 17th May. The fifth paragraph of this letter, relating to the need for urgency, was referred to, and in response to it, it was proposed that the committee should temporarily abandon its review of the 1937 Report and turn its attention to Section 15 of the 1918 Act. On the basis of the discussion which took place at that committee meeting,²⁷ Cameron Smail drew up a draft interim report which was considered paragraph by paragraph at the June meeting of the committee,²⁸ and then submitted to the Council for the signature of Hamilton Fyfe at the Advisory Council meeting of 9th July. The speedy passage of this interim report may be accounted for by reason of its brevity, and that the suggested adjustments "to meet present day conditions" would not require alteration of the terms of the Act, as they referred mainly to curriculum balance, and recommended little more than a general tightening up of the time-scale for implementation of compulsory day continuation classes.

Having disposed of the requirement to comment upon the relevant section of the 1918 Act, this committee resumed its consideration of the 1937 report of the Advisory Council, paying particular attention to the problems of remote and sparsely populated areas, but operating at a much less leisurely pace than it had done in the early spring of the year. As early as June, 1943, Cameron Smail offered to prepare a first draft of the report, but this task was not completed immediately. Between June and September, the committee took a considerable volume of evidence from bodies and individuals, leading it to the conclusion that the solution to the problem of poor attendance at continuation classes could be resolved by the full implementation of the 1918 Act.²⁹ A report in these terms was presented to the Advisory Council and endorsed by the parent body at its meeting of 1st October. The second of Johnston's "priority" subjects was thus dealt with within the time scale allotted to it.

A report on the third "priority" subject, training for citizenship, was also presented before the end of 1943, with no interim report in this case, but with enquiries prematurely curtailed. The committee on citizenship, under the convenership of Garnet

Wilson, had embarked on an ambitious policy of taking evidence from a wide range of sources. Garnet Wilson had suggested as a starting point the Department's 1942 Memorandum on Citizenship,³⁰ and had asked members of his committee to present observations on that Memorandum.³¹ Nine papers were submitted, and between the first meeting of the committee on 7th May and the sixth meeting on 16th August, these nine papers were discussed, written submission from outwith the Council were considered, and a steady flow of witnesses offering verbal advice were interviewed. This process was brought to an end at the August meeting when it was remitted to the convener of the committee, the Chairman of the Council, and Grainger Stewart to draft a report "in view of the urgency which the Secretary of State attached to a report on Citizenship".³² At the Council meeting of 19th November, the consideration and adjustment of the committee's draft report was finally completed, having passed the scrutiny of the committee at their meeting of 17th September. The report, which was published in 1944,³³ offered little by way of positive recommendations. It proposed that citizenship should inform all aspects of the school curriculum but that formal teaching of Civics should be deferred until the year immediately preceding the statutory leaving age. Although the Department followed up the report of the Advisory Council with an exhortatory memorandum and a number of conferences, the report of Garnet Wilson's committee was by no means as influential as Tom Johnston had hoped that it would be.³⁴

Taken together, these first six reports of the Council, two of which were interim reports, bore closely on the current concerns of the Minister and of the Department. They were produced in response to narrow remits, and instructions issued subsequent to the remits imposed carefully worded limits on the ground to be covered by two committees. The committees dealing with teacher supply and recruitment, and with continuation classes, as well as that considering training for citizenship, were obliged to work to a timetable. Closely controlled in these respects, and consciously eschewing the model of "full dress reports on the scale of the Spens Report", the

conveners of the committees which produced reports in 1943, endowed their work with less individuality than is found in some of the later reports. While less free-ranging than some of the later reports, these early ones, and particularly those produced by McClelland's and Cameron Smail's committees, proved amenable to direct and concise responses from the Department.

THE REPORTS OF 1944

7th Report – Adult Education Grants
 8th Report – Education Authority Bursaries
 9th Report – Technical Education (Interim Report)

Having presented early reports, one of the reporting committees was dissolved, Garnet Wilson's on training for citizenship, but the continuing life of both McClelland's and Cameron Smail's committees was proposed at the Council meeting of 1st October, at the suggestion of Hamilton Fyfe. The Chairman was of the opinion that the Council should ask for a new remit on the training of teachers in the long-term post-war future, and he recommended McClelland's committee as the obvious group to take up this remit. He also announced at that meeting that he had had discussions with Mackay Thomson on the subject of technical education and could report that the Department regarded this subject as important, "owing to the possibility of legislation being required to authorise the post-war developments which might be necessary".³⁵ A wide remit on all aspects of technical education to be undertaken by a Special Committee of the Council, with Cameron Smail's committee as a nucleus, might therefore be requested. A further decision affecting committees of the Council was taken at that meeting: in response to questions submitted by the School Building Committee of the SED, the Advisory Council agreed that Garnet Wilson should convene a committee to suggest answers to these questions. Approval, and closer definition, of remits on teacher training and technical education, was duly given, so

that by the autumn of 1943 there were five committees of the Council actively at work under the direction of their conveners, as below:-

Adult Education (Greenhill)
 Education Authority Bursaries (Clark)
 Training of Teachers (McClelland)
 Technical Education (Cameron Smail)
 School Building (Garnet Wilson)

Greenhill's committee on adult education had, of course, been constituted in November, 1942, but had not reported by the end of 1943. Clark's committee to enquire into Education Authority Bursaries had been set up in July, 1943. The committees listed above, therefore, represent those that were actively in session between the late autumn of 1943 and before the Act of 1945 was at an advanced stage of preparation as a Bill.³⁶

Garnet Wilson's committee on school building remained in existence for no more than one meeting, and did not produce a report. Constituted at the Advisory Council meeting of 1st October, this committee was to provide answers to a set of questions that the School Building Committee of the SED had asked of the Advisory Council. A memorandum had been sent to the Council in mid-September, outlining the School Building Committee's preliminary proposals for post-war building of schools. Appended to this memorandum was a set of six very specific questions for the Advisory Council to reply to. Garnet Wilson's committee discussed these questions at their first and only meeting on 12th November, and drafted replies for the approval of the Council, explaining that "the answers were to be regarded as provisional pending further and fuller consideration by the Council of the problems of primary and secondary education".³⁷ The committee's caution was supported at the Council meeting of 19th November, and indeed, only three of the six answers were forwarded to the School Building Committee, the other three, relating to the organisation of nursery, infant, and primary education, and class sizes in secondary education, being held back pending the Advisory Council's forthcoming enquiries on these topics. The

report of the School Building Committee was published in December, 1944,³⁸ by which time the Advisory council had not completed the questionnaire, and no formal report was presented by the Advisory Council on this subject.

The outputs of the other surviving committees of the Advisory Council, however, conformed more closely to the style of the 1943 reports. Formal full reports were produced by Greenhill's and Clark's committees, and Cameron Smail's committee produced an interim report towards the end of 1944. In certain respects Greenhill's and Clark's committees had much in common: the remits given them related to machinery for the administering of educational finance, they both took the Education Act of 1918 as a basic point of reference; and both had very limited remits, which allowed them to conduct much of their business without taking evidence from a wide range of experts from outwith the Advisory Council.

Although appointed at the first meeting of the Advisory Council, and remaining in existence in spite of curtailment of the Council's activities in early 1943, the committee on adult education did not present its draft report to the Advisory Council until July, 1944. This delay was occasioned partly by the Council's concentrating on Johnston's "priority remits" throughout 1943. It may also be attributed in part to the fact that the committee got off to a false start at its first meeting in February, 1943. The convener, Ernest Greenhill, had been absent from that meeting, and, chaired by Hamilton Fyfe, the committee succeeded in doing little more than resolve to take written evidence from the SED, the WEA, the Association of County Councils, and other groups interested in adult education. Discussions among members of the committee revealed that they were rather uncertain as to the limits of the remit, and no significant steps were taken at that meeting.

At the second meeting of the committee, Greenhill addressed the group, noting that

On reading the minute of the last meeting it was obvious that the members had not been clear as to the purpose which he had in mind in proposing the limited remit which the Committee now had under

consideration He did not wish to give the impression that the voluntary organisations were trying to compete with the Universities or the Education Authorities. He was merely concerned to secure acceptance of the principle that voluntary organisations should receive official recognition by means of grant. If the Committee agreed with this view, it would be for them to state reasons why voluntary organisations should be given grant, and to recommend how it should be paid, and how much it should be.³⁹

This was the first step in clarification. The second was a discussion with R T Hawkins, the Assistant Secretary of the SED in charge of adult education, who stated that rather than make grants to voluntary bodies the SED would prefer to finance adult education through Education Authorities, though not necessarily in the same way as had occurred hitherto.

The Convener said that Mr Hawkins had made it plain that he thought that the basis laid down in the 1918 Act ought to be maintained. The question for the Committee was what was the best method within that system.⁴⁰

There were no more meetings of the committee until December, 1943, by which time the memoranda that had been requested from interested parties had been received and collated. These memoranda pointed to four alternatives with regard to the financing of adult education:—

- (1) That the status quo be retained,
- (2) That voluntary bodies should be given executive functions,
- (3) That education Authorities be required to prepare schemes to attract percentage grants,
- (4) That voluntary bodies should be given direct grants.⁴¹

After some discussion, the scheme that found most favour with the committee was (3). This scheme was perceived to have two great strengths, it would ensure that education authorities would make efforts to promote adult education, and it would be operable within the terms of the 1918 Act. To recommend it to the Secretary of State, however, was to move outwith the terms of the remit, which had referred specifically to the payment of grants to voluntary bodies. This obstacle was overcome by a suggestion to secure a widening of the terms of the remit. No difficulty in obtaining a

wider remit was anticipated, once the SED was made aware of the reasoning behind the request, and none was encountered. In the meantime, however, the need to have the remit formally extended ensured that the committee would only reach provisional conclusions. Tentative conclusions arrived at at the meeting of December, 1943, formed the basis of the recommendations eventually made in the committee's report, referring to the proposed obligation on every education authority to produce a scheme for adult education for the SED's approval, and recommending regional and national councils with an oversight of adult education.

There was, however, a period of amending and reshaping tentative conclusions between December, 1943 and March, 1944, during which time the committee's proposals were discussed with the full Council and reconsidered at the committee meeting of February, 1944. Commitment to recommending a percentage grant as opposed to a block grant was secured by R C T Mair, Director of Education for Lanarkshire, and at that time convener of the committee on secondary education, who offered to produce a short memorandum defining the main features of a scheme which might be submitted by an education authority for the Department's approval. Mair's memorandum was approved by the committee at their meeting of 9th March.⁴² By March, 1944, therefore, general agreement among committee members had been reached, the Advisory Council had been alerted to the main features of what the committee had in mind, and formal approval of the extended remit had been granted. It only remained that the report be drafted, a task remitted to Greenhill, the Chairman of the Council and its Secretary, Grainger Stewart, at the March meeting. Only qualified approval, however, was offered to the draft presented at the meeting of the committee in June, but it was not felt that another committee meeting would be required to further approve amendments.⁴³ At the next meeting of the full Advisory Council the draft report was adjusted and approved for submission to the Secretary of State.

J B Clark's committee on bursaries followed a similar course to that of Greenhil's, but

without the initial misunderstandings that had beset that committee. At its first meeting in July, 1943, the future procedure for the committee on education authority bursaries was outlined clearly. It was decided that Grainger Stewart and McClelland should collaborate in producing a table giving up-to-date information about the awards made by the several education authorities. In order to obtain the relevant information they would require to obtain the help of the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland. Memoranda would be sought from other bodies intimately concerned with bursaries, the Association of County Councils, the Association of Counties of Cities, the universities and the Central Institutions, as well as the ADES. These memoranda, together with the table produced by McClelland and Grainger Stewart, and the SED memorandum which had originally prompted the setting-up of the committee,⁴⁴ would be the main sources of information for the committee's discussions.⁴⁵

The second meeting of the committee was devoted mainly to discussing the SED paper and the table, which by that time had been drawn up. The conclusion was that which the SED had arrived at in their own deliberations of 1943 - "A comparison of the awards of school bursaries in eight areas showed that there was no equality of opportunity".⁴⁶ A conference with the Principals of Training Colleges and Universities, and the Heads of Central Institutions at the next meeting on 9th December confirmed that there was much inconsistency affecting awards. This was borne out by the representatives of the Association of County Councils and of the Association of Counties of Cities, who also met the committee that day.⁴⁷ In order to have at their disposal as wide a range of schemes as possible, the committee subsequently enquired of each Education Authority as to the procedures adopted by it in making awards. Sixteen replies were received, together with further submissions from the ADES and the two local authority associations.

The committee took stock of its enquiries at its fourth meeting, that of 19th May, 1944, and agreed that on the basis of information received, there was sufficient to

describe Scottish practice. When the relevant clauses of the English Bill, which had recently become available, were taken into account,⁴⁸ appropriate guidelines for the framing of recommendations were seen therein. It was therefore delegated to the Assistant Secretary of the Council, Archibald Davidson, to draft a report. The availability of impending legislation in England was, however, a mixed blessing at the drafting stage. While it provided notice of what the Government was prepared to contemplate in terms of equality of opportunity, the position South of the Border was complicated by the fact that there were State Bursaries as well as those provided by local authorities. Grainger Stewart therefore took on the task of interpreting the English position to be described in the report, and in so doing was greatly assisted by correspondence with Parker in London and some officials of the B of E during the course of July. When presented to the committee at their meeting of 24th July, the draft report proved acceptable to them in principle,⁴⁹ but it was left to Grainger Stewart to make some further slight amendments to the wording before submission to the Advisory Council, and approval by it at its August meeting.⁵⁰

Other than producing an interim report towards the end of 1944, Cameron Smail's committee had little in common with the other committees whose work bore fruit in the second phase of the Council's term of office. With regard to its constitution, for example, it was quite different from the other committees of the Council, being a Special Committee made up of experts from outwith the ranks of the Council as well as those Advisory Council members who had served to produce the reports on continuation classes. It was a committee constituted in accordance with Paragraph 7 of the 1942 Order in Council.⁵¹ The remit given the committee was also much wider-ranging than that given others:-

Having regard to the prospective requirements of trade and industry and to the provision made for technical education in the Universities, to enquire into the provision, administration and finance of technical education outwith the Universities and to make recommendations.⁵²

What necessitated an interim report in 1944 was the expressed need for promptness. In the remitting letter, Mackay Thomson had drawn attention to the imminence of legislation, and had indicated that the committee's recommendations were urgently required.⁵³ The producing of an interim report while only part of the way through its enquiries upset the programme of the committee to some extent, but, together with subsequent correspondence between the committee and the SED, as is explained later in this Chapter, the interim report ensured SED access to the Special Committee's thinking before the relevant sections of the Bill were published.

Taken together, the reports of Garnet Wilson's, Greenhill's, Clark's, and Cameron Smail's committees (Interim Report), were the findings of the middle phase of the Advisory Council's term of office, that the SED could refer to. Along with the earlier reports, which had already been examined by the Department with a view to giving legislative sanction to acceptable recommendations, the work of the committees reporting in 1944 gave the Department a starting point, or alternatives to, their own proposals for the Bill.

THE REPORTS OF 1946 AND 1947

- 10th Report – Technical Education
- 11th Report – Training of Teachers
- 12th Report – Primary Education
- 13th Report – Secondary Education

The last four reports of the Council differed from those of the first and second phases of its existence in that they were not presented to the Secretary of State until the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1945 had been steered through the various stages of the parliamentary process to become law. Indeed, with the exception of the report on technical education, it was not intended that the recommendations of these later reports should be treated as possible subjects for legislation. The committee on the training of teachers certainly had no illusions with regard to short-term responses to

its report, noting that "While the reform of the training system was important it was not of great urgency, as reforms could not be introduced until the post-war pressure had passed".⁵⁴ And were there, in any event, to be recognised a need for prompt action on aspects of the reports, the powers reserved by the Department through codes, regulations, and circulars, would be sufficient to effect changes. From the Department's point of view, in fact, the reports of the first two phases provided sufficient by way of proposals to meet their short-term concerns. From the Council's point of view, however, and particularly the points of view of the conveners of the four surviving committees, the remaining remits gave the Advisory Council the opportunity to make recommendations on a larger scale and for a longer-term future than it had hitherto done.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

In the autumn of 1943, the report anticipated from the Special Committee on Technical Education was being regarded as a special case. As has been noted earlier, Johnston and the Department related the work of that committee to future legislation, and remitted it with a view to adjusting statutory provision. In addition to pointing out that the remit was to be treated urgently as recommendations might entail legislation, he emphasised that an effective framework rather than an elaborated programme be devised. Mackay Thomson wrote

His /Johnston's/ intention in making the remit is that the special committee should not concern itself with detailed questions of curriculum, but rather with the broad picture of what kinds of technical education should be provided in what types of institution for what age-range of the population, and how all this should be administered and financed.⁵⁵

In spite of the fact that the Special Committee had been alerted to the need for urgency, from the start of their deliberations a wide enquiry was set under way. In a briefing memorandum,⁵⁶ Cameron Smail set out for the guidance of the Special Committee a list of the bodies he felt would have to be consulted before even an

accurate description of the current situation could be produced. He referred to the need to take cognisance of a forthcoming memorandum to be produced jointly by the SED and the Department of Agriculture in Scotland; he urged consultation with the universities and the Central Institutions to be informed of their post-war development proposals; he wanted information from professional organisations, from trade, industry, and the general public. From the start, it would seem that the convener of the Special Committee was contemplating a large-scale report. The strategy proposed by Cameron Smail was challenged by a member of the Special Committee at the third meeting of that committee on 12th January, 1944. Rather than seek to build on existing provision, Patrick McGee, a member of Aberdeen Education Committee, and the proposer of the alternative strategy, favoured "a new beginning",⁵⁷ but his alternative, even more ambitious than that of Cameron Smail, was rejected by the committee.

Little progress was made by the Special Committee in the first two months of 1944, but at the meeting of 6th March, it was decided that Cameron Smail, and James Ferguson, an HMI member of the committee who was the SED's specialist on technical education, should draw up a list of technical schools, colleges, and industrial establishments to be visited. Spring of 1944 signalled a spell of intense activity for the committee, with a series of visits being made to the institutions on the select list. The usual procedure concerning these visits would be for the committee to inspect the facilities and discuss matters in an informal way with whomsoever could give advice in the morning, and in the afternoon to hold a more formal committee meeting on the premises, with the senior personnel hosts giving evidence to the committee. At convenient times between visits, committee meetings would take place in Edinburgh, to take verbal evidence or to consider memoranda that had been submitted as written evidence. In the period between late March and mid-June, the committee held eight normal meetings and a number conducted while on visits.

Cameron Smail imposed some shape on the great mass of information that had been

acquired in that spell in two papers prepared for committee meetings. These papers, "Memorandum by the Convener"⁵⁸ and "Convener's suggested Chapter Headings for Report",⁵⁹ set out and develop rather generally some of the main points that had recurred in the taking of evidence and round which a report could be organised. These papers reveal that by this stage of the committee's enquiries, Cameron Smail had become aware of the significance of certain factors which contributed to inconsistency of contemporary provision, and that some notion as to how reform might be effected had taken root in his mind. His main headings in the paper "Memorandum by the Convener" indicate the general areas covered by the committee's interim and final reports. Indeed, the draft interim report was a natural development of these papers.

But in spite of having agreed a general structure for the report, the Special Committee began to realise that they could not fulfil their task in time to affect the forthcoming Scottish Education Bill unless an interim report were to be produced. The first firm reference to the need for an interim report occurred at the meeting of the Special Committee which took place on 20th September. At that meeting, Cameron Smail drew attention to impending legislation, that the Education Bill for Scotland would shortly be presented to Parliament. He pointed out that

There were certain matters connected with technical education to which the new legislation should make reference, and he suggested that the Committee should arrange for a special meeting in order to consider a short interim report which he would prepare.⁶⁰

The "special meeting" took place in early October, and at it, the interim report was duly discussed and adjusted. Grainger Stewart, at that meeting, stated his belief that it was by then too late for any recommendations contained in the interim report to affect the Bill, which by that time had been approved by the Cabinet Committee and would probably be published within a month. He counselled deferring submission of the interim report until after the Bill had been published, arguing that "The views of the Committee would then be much more useful to the Secretary of State".⁶¹ This

advice, however, was rejected. The adjusted interim report was sent on to the Advisory Council, who declared at their meeting of 1st November "that the Advisory Council were in complete agreement with the recommendations contained in the Report".⁶² With the Advisory Council's approval thus confirmed, the final interim report was then submitted to the Secretary of State.

The submission of the interim report did not, however, mark the end of the Special Committee's interest in the Education Bill. At the meeting held on 19th March, 1945, it was noted that as presented to Parliament, the Bill had ignored some of the recommendations of the Special Committee, recommendations which the committee regarded as fundamental to its proposed strategy for the development of technical education in the post-war period. Expressing the Special Committee's disappointment at these apparent omissions, Cameron Smail produced a strongly-worded memorandum addressed to Johnston.⁶³ This memorandum was not, however, dispatched, for in the meantime, Johnston had sent a letter to the Advisory Council inviting comments on the Bill. Cameron Smail reported this to his committee on 26th April, and suggested that the main points of his memorandum should be submitted by him to the meeting of the Advisory Council to take place on the following day, in order that they could be included in any comprehensive statement that the Advisory Council might make. At that meeting of the Council, the three main points made by Cameron Smail received unanimous support. These were that the Bill's proposal for the composition of a national council on technical education was unsatisfactory; that the Bill did not cover the establishment of regional councils for technical education; that no mention was made in the Bill of local technical colleges to be administered by education authorities as part of the national organisation of technical education. These submissions originating from the Special Committee, were subsequently largely recognised in later versions of the Bill, excepting that regarding the composition of a national advisory council.⁶⁴

The Special Committee did not, however, give over the entire autumn of 1944 and

spring of 1945 to attempts to influence the content of the Bill. In September, plans were being made for a tour of technical institutions in England, and this tour, which included a meeting between members of the Special Committee and officers of the Board of Education⁶⁵ took place in January, 1945. At the committee meeting of 19th February, there was qualified appreciation of works schools and continuation class efforts in England, but the subject was not pursued in depth. The committee's main concern after the concentrated spell of advice-taking in the summer of 1944, had been to build on the interim report. By November, 1944, Cameron Smail had declared himself in a position to prepare a draft report on the lines suggested in his papers "Memorandum by the Convener" and "Convener's suggested Chapter headings for Report", but that there were "many blanks to be filled in".⁶⁶ One reason for the existence of these blanks was that the Special Committee had decided at an early stage of its proceedings to await the draft recommendations of the Alness Committee, which had been set up by the Department of Agriculture in Scotland to look at the work of the Agricultural Colleges in Scotland. Communication on substantive matters did not take place until October, 1945, by which time the Special Committee had made tentative recommendations with regard to the organisation of agricultural education, recommendations which were altered in the light of the Alness conclusions.

The main work of the committee was in fact completed by the summer of 1945, much of the latter part of that year being spent in discussing Cameron Smail's draft report and approving revision of it. At three meetings, in July, August and October, the main business was consideration of chapters and revisions to them. Then, after taking the Alness conclusions into account in October there was a gap in meetings, the final discussions within the Special Committee being left over until two successive days, 16th and 17th January, 1946.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

On completing its report on the recruitment and training of teachers in the post-war

period, McClelland's committee continued in existence to deal with a new remit:-

To enquire into the provision made for the training of teachers in Scotland, the selection of candidates for training and the conditions of admission thereto, the courses of training, the types of certificate which may be awarded and the conditions of award, the withdrawal of such certificates whether temporarily or permanently, and the administration and finance of the said services; and to make recommendations.⁶⁷

At the first meeting of the committee after the submission of its third report to the Secretary of State, a memorandum by McClelland proposing future procedure, was discussed.⁶⁸ In this memorandum, extending to some 3000 words, McClelland suggested that priority should be given to seeking answers to fundamental questions regarding the primary school teacher - "What are the essential elements in the preparation of the Primary teacher?", "What should the teacher be?", "What qualities and attributes should he possess?", He argued that since three-quarters of the teachers in Scotland were qualified to teach the primary stage, they deserved the committee's first attention. This argument proved successful with the committee, and it was also decided at that meeting, that in sharp contrast to the work already completed by them, this report would be directed at the long-term future.⁶⁹ Now that Government's requests regarding planning for the cessation of hostilities had been answered, the committee could proceed at a more leisurely pace.

Over the next two months, therefore, in the course of four meetings of the committee, the memorandum by McClelland was taken as the basis for discussion. While much of the discussion was, inevitably, inconclusive, certain principles were established. Chief among these was that the training of the primary school teacher should extend over four years and that the most suitable places in which these courses should be conducted were the existing training colleges. How the four years should be broken up proved the subject of some debate, but there was general agreement that they should comprise a period of general education to be followed by a more specialised course. It had first been suggested that three years be allocated to the general education of the trainee teacher and one to professional training, but

The length of three years and one year should not be regarded as in any way fixed. Experience might show that the general course could be overtaken in two and a half or even two years. The important thing was not to think of a three-year course of training but of one of four.⁷⁰

In this spell of purely internal discussion, the committee also concluded that the prevailing arrangement whereby a student could take a year's preliminary training in the secondary school should be stopped, and agreed that the course of professional training for graduates who intended taking up primary school teaching should be one of two years.

Having established these principles, the committee then went on to take evidence and opinions from individuals and professional and other interested bodies, but their contributions were not reflected in the final report to the extent that those of the committee's internal debates were. In a very real sense, the published document was "The McClelland Report". While the established principle of interviewing witnesses was observed, and on attending committee meetings, witnesses were asked to comment on points to which they might wish to draw the committee's attention, in the main, the initiative in discussion was taken by the convener. Over nine months and seventeen meetings, evidence was taken in this way.

By the beginning of 1945 the taking of evidence from external sources had come to an end, and between January and June, 1945, McClelland drew on this evidence and the committee's own discussions to produce a draft report. At committee meetings on two successive days⁷¹ and at one other⁷² McClelland's draft was considered and amended in committee, but no radical changes to it were moved. The final meeting of the committee took place on 26th July, at which minor amendments were agreed, and instructions issued to the Council's Secretary for the preparation of a report to be submitted to the Advisory Council. At a meeting of the full Council later that year, the report was duly approved, and passed on to the Secretary of State on the 22nd of December. Like Cameron Smail, McClelland had succeeded in having accepted by the Advisory Council a report which, to a considerable extent, expressed his own views on

the topic of the remit.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

The meetings of the committee on primary education, convened by W D Ritchie, Director of education for Ayr, were characterised by a businesslike approach to the topics under review. Throughout its deliberations, this committee took its inspiration not only from the convener, but also from a set of memoranda which were supplied by the SED, the tentative conclusions of the Department's own Panel of Inspectors on primary education. In the final report, however, there was more of the spirit of the committee's own debate, than that of the memoranda produced by the Inspectorate. Before these memoranda were supplied, however, Ritchie had already set out the areas to be covered in the report, and at the first meeting of his committee, he had amended his programme to incorporate the suggestions offered by other committee members. This initial task was completed on the morning of 21st September, 1944, and at the afternoon session agreement was reached upon a host of minimum standards of hygiene and physical fittings for the primary school.

The remit to the committee was

To review the educational provision in Scotland for children from the time of entry to the nursery school until the completion of primary education, and the arrangements for promoting them from primary to secondary education, and to make recommendations.⁷³

and discussion of arrangements for promotion occupied much of the time of the early meetings of the committee. Once ready agreement had been reached relating to the physical background of education (siting of schools, problems of health, etc) at the first two meetings of the committee, discussion in earnest began on the topic of promotion to the secondary school. Between October, 1944, and March, 1945, the committee debated and clarified its position on "the clean cut", the functions of the qualifying examination, how selection for secondary education should be conducted, and other matters relating to transfer. With the exception of a contribution from

Professor James Drever of Edinburgh University, who could not be too optimistic about the contribution that aptitude tests could make to selection for secondary education, the committee conducted its enquiries in this area without the assistance of "external" witnesses. Within Ritchie's committee, both the convener and J J Robertson, Headmaster of Aberdeen Grammar School and soon to become convener of the committee on secondary education, strongly expressed their views on the promotion of pupils; and McClelland, often drawing on his book "Selection for Secondary Education" took a prominent part in debates on that subject.

While the committee was articulating its position on transfer, however, there was an awareness expressed that they should take steps to obtain copies of the memoranda being produced by the Inspectorate Panel on Primary Education. At the committee meeting of November, 1944, Robertson drew attention to the fact that consideration of the remit had been held up until such time as these memoranda should become available.⁷⁴ Now that the committee was in session it seemed reasonable to assume that these memoranda would be in a suitable state for consideration. Robertson's point was supported by the Assistant Secretary to the Council, Davidson, and at the first meeting of the committee in 1945, Ritchie reported that he had had a meeting with the SED at which he had been granted permission to obtain copies of the memoranda for committee members, "provided that they were treated confidentially".⁷⁵

Soon after that meeting, copies of the memoranda were put at the disposal of the committee, and Ritchie, with the committee's agreement, outlined how they should be dealt with.

The Convener said that in order that these papers could be dealt with as expeditiously as possible he proposed to ask a member to prepare comments on a memorandum, which would be circulated to the members before the meeting at which it would be discussed. At the meeting the member responsible for the comments would make general observations on the memorandum and would deal with the specific points raised by him. That would be followed by a general discussion. He thought that the committee should assume that any point referred to in the memorandum which was not raised either by the reporter or in the discussion was approved. He did not think it necessary to go over

the paper paragraph by paragraph.⁷⁶

This procedure was, in fact, carried out as described, and between April and December of that year at their regular meetings, individual members led discussions based on the various aspects of the Inspectors' memoranda.

Discussion of the memoranda was not, however, the only business of the committee in this period. On the strength of written submissions that had been made to the Council, some individuals and groups were invited to give oral evidence to the committee, the bulk of that evidence being taken between May and December. In addition to the taking of evidence and consideration of the SED memoranda, the committee also made visits to schools which had gained a reputation for experiments in education. At about this time, also, Ritchie began supplying the committee with copies of chapters he had drafted on the basis of their discussions. At the May meeting, the first at which draft chapters were presented, he offered two chapters in draft, one dealing with the recommended age limits for primary education, and the other dealing with the physical background. Clearly, Ritchie's intention in adopting this procedure was to have the committee approve what he had taken to be their conclusions at as short an interval as possible after their arriving at these conclusions, and so obviate the possibility of their covering the same ground at subsequent meetings.

Towards the end of 1945, the business of the committee was coming to an end. The Inspectorate's memoranda had been fully analysed and discussed, witnesses had been heard, and written evidence taken into consideration, and a good deal of the draft report had been approved by the committee. In November of that year, however, there was a joint meeting with the committee on secondary education, ostensibly to discuss promotion to the secondary school, but effectively to persuade the secondary committee to adopt the primary committee's point of view.⁷⁷ Further joint meetings took place in early 1946 to discuss areas of common interest, but no new ground was

broken after December, 1945. Where meetings of the committee on primary education were called in 1946, their effective function was to discuss, amend and approve the final draft chapters submitted by Ritchie. Once approved by the full Council, his report was forwarded to the SED on 5th September, 1946.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

As early as November, 1942, it was being suggested to the Secretary of State that the Advisory Council should be given a remit on secondary education. Indeed, among the three remits which Johnston originally intended to offer was one on secondary education. As has been noted, however, the Advisory Council's response to Johnston's enthusiastic address at the first meeting of the Council was to submit eleven remits for his approval, and the SED hastened to urge Johnston to trim the Council's ambitions to what the Department deemed more manageable proportions. Of the eleven remits suggested by the Council, five were, after initial protest on the Council's part, given the Secretary of State's approval for the Advisory Council's immediate attention. Among these was the remit

To review the educational provision in Scotland for young people who have completed their primary education and have not attained the age of eighteen years or discontinued full-time attendance at school, whichever is the later, the examinations for which they may be presented, and the certificates which may be awarded, and to make recommendations.⁷⁸

Work did not, however, commence on this remit until late in 1943, as certain other enquiries came to be regarded as of greater urgency, and they were accordingly afforded priority in early 1943, reports being submitted later that year.

When eventually convened on 11th November, 1943, however, the work of the committee on secondary education did not proceed as effectively as that of other committees. Under the convenership of R C T Mair, Director of Education for Lanarkshire, some fifteen months were spent in deliberations, but these deliberations eventually proved unsatisfactory, no draft chapters having been produced to give

authority to the tentative conclusions reached.⁷⁹ It was not, in fact, until J J Robertson replaced Mair as convener of the committee, that progress was made towards committing their conclusions to draft chapters. In February 1945, Mair announced at a meeting of the committee that

..... owing to the state of his health he would be glad to have assistance in the drafting of the Report. He proposed that a small drafting sub-committee be appointed. He suggested that Mr Robertson and Mr Ritchie might be prevailed upon to join him.⁸⁰

In fact, shortly afterwards, Mair resigned as convener of the committee and Robertson took over not only the drafting of the report as Ritchie at this time was drafting the report on primary education, but also the convenership of the committee.

With the appointment of Robertson as convener, the committee was imbued with a new vigour, and steps were taken to secure unreserved agreement on matters that had hitherto divided the committee. Two major issues had resisted solution: they could not reach a unanimous decision on the organisation of secondary education, nor could unanimous agreement be reached on a scheme of examinations and certificates. At the meeting of 13th April, 1945, it was proposed by Robertson that both of these seemingly intractable questions should be referred to a meeting of the full Council before the drafting of chapters on these topics began.⁸¹ Accordingly, two short papers were prepared,⁸² outlining what Robertson took to be the majority position of his committee on these matters, and at the Advisory Council meeting of 27th April, these questions were discussed. The outcome of this meeting of the Council, after considerable debate, was that the position on these two matters, as laid down by Robertson, were approved by the Council as a whole.

With the Advisory Council's approval of Robertson's statements secured, it then became possible for him to draft chapters on these contentious issues. The drafting, in fact, took place over the summer of 1945, and by September of that year the two draft chapters were presented to the committee, together with a revised broad outline

of the report, prepared by Robertson. The two draft chapters were eventually accepted by the committee, not without some rewriting on Robertson's part, and the new outline of the report was approved. The way was now clear for Robertson to submit further draft chapters to his committee, and between September, 1945, and May, 1946, thirteen chapters in all were approved.

While these chapters were being written, the regular meetings of the committee continued, either to discuss chapters in draft or take evidence from secondary school specialists or other interested groups (eg the Saltire Society). As in the report itself, the sequential strategy of the committee had been first to establish the principles of secondary education, and to follow these with the considerations of the subject components of the secondary school curriculum. Joint meetings were also held with the committee on primary education to discuss matters of mutual interest. The final meeting of the committee was held at the Trossachs Hotel on 20th June, 1946, where the radical decision was taken that a School Certificate should be awarded after satisfactory completion of four years of secondary education on the basis of an internally assessed examination with external moderation. Between June, 1946, and the publication of the report, only slight adjustments were made by Robertson, mainly in consultation with Hamilton Fyfe. The report, which was published in 1947, therefore, like those of Cameron Smail, McClelland, and Ritchie, was to a considerable extent, the work of the convener of the committee, Robertson. Unlike the reports that had been submitted to the SED before the passing of the 1945 Act, however, Robertson's report (as were those of Cameron Smail, McClelland, and Ritchie) was produced with a minimum of close direction from either the Department or the Secretary of State.

* * * * *

Of the eight terms of office of the Advisory Council, that of the sixth Council was exceptional. After an initial display of assertive independence early in 1943, the

wartime Council aligned itself with the priorities of the Department which was then engaged in preparing the groundwork for the Education Act of 1945. In the course of 1943, the Council acted in close partnership with the Department, meeting deadlines for priority reports. This active co-operation was sustained through 1944, particularly in the case of the committees on the financing of adult education and education authority bursaries. It was, in fact, in the deliberations over these remits that the Council and officials of the Department worked most closely together, Hawkins taking a participatory role in the work of Greenhill's committee, and Grainger Stewart being left to liaise with the B of E on behalf of Clark's committee, and then being required to virtually complete the writing of its report. There were, however, signs even during this period of close co-operation that certain Council members found the priorities of the Department somewhat irksome. McClelland had little inclination to make recommendations on short-term plans for the recruitment of teachers, and Cameron Smail clearly expected that the Department should automatically endorse whatever recommendations his committee should make. By 1945, Departmental involvement with the work of the Council had decreased considerably. Other than give evidence itself, provide a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, and clerical assistance, the Department took no part in the affairs of the Council. The supply of memoranda from Panels of the Inspectorate might be regarded as a gesture of co-operation, but the spirit of the memoranda was in fact rejected in the report on primary education, and increasingly, the Council turned away from the Department and began to take on an almost wholly independent identity, looking outward to the evidence of witnesses rather than inward to the SED. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when the four major reports were produced, they could be less assured of Departmental approval than the earlier ones had been.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Education (Scotland) Advisory Council Order, 1942.
2. The "survivors" were Biggar, who died soon after the sixth Council

was constituted, Clark, McGee, Cameron Smail and Garnet Wilson.

3. ED 8/23, Meeting of Advisory Council, 22/1/43.
4. Ibid.
5. ED 8/23, Meeting of Advisory Council, 16/4/43.
6. ED 8/23, Meeting of Advisory Council, 27/11/42.
7. Ibid.
8. ED 8/23, Meeting of Advisory Council, 16/4/43.
9. ED 8/23, Hamilton Fyfe to Secretary of State, 10/5/43.
10. ED 8/23, Secretary of State to Hamilton Fyfe, 17/5/43.
11. ED 8/25, Meeting of Advisory Council, 3/8/43, referring to Parliamentary question of 27/7/43.
12. ED 8/25, Meeting of Advisory council, 17/8/43.
13. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on teacher supply, 24/5/43.
14. ED 8/47, Meeting of committee on continuation classes, 28/5/43.
15. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on teacher supply, 26/3/43.
16. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on teacher supply, 19/2/43.
17. Ibid.
18. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on teacher supply, 24/5/43.
19. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on teacher supply, 26/6/43.
20. This report was published together with the earlier "Teachers' Salaries (Interim Report)" and the later "Teachers: Supply, Recruitment and Training in the Period immediately following the War" as a Command Paper, Cmnd 6501.
21. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on teacher supply, 16/7/43.
22. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on teacher supply, 10/7/43.
23. ED 8/52, Paper T 37.
24. See File ED 8/52A.
25. ED 8/23, Meeting of Advisory Council, 16/4/43.
26. SED (1937) Report of the Advisory Council to the Scottish Education Department as to the Position of Technical Education in the Day School System of Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh.
27. ED 8/47, Meeting of committee on technical education, 28/5/43.

28. ED 8/47, Meeting of committee on technical education, 7/6/43.
29. Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. 8 & 9 Geo. 5 Ch 48, Sections 30 and 31.
30. SED (1942) Training for Citizenship; HMSO, Edinburgh.
31. Ed 8/44, Meeting of committee on citizenship, 7/5/43.
32. ED 8/44, Meeting of committee on citizenship, 16/8/43.
33. SED (1944) Training for Citizenship: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmd 6501.
34. See Chapter 9.
35. ED 8/25, Meeting of Advisory Council, 1/10/43.
36. See Insert 1.
37. ED 8/48, Meeting of committee on school buildings, 1/11/43.
38. Ministry of Works (1945) School Buildings for Scotland: Report of a Committee Appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland; Post-War Building Studies No 21; HMSO, London.
39. ED 8/46, Meeting of committee on adult education, 26/3/43.
40. Ibid.
41. ED 8/46, Meeting of committee on adult education, 17/12/43.
42. ED 8/46, Meeting of committee on adult education, 9/3/44.
43. ED 8/46, Meeting of committee on adult education, 5/6/44.
44. ED 8/45, Paper 51.
45. ED 8/45, Meeting of committee on bursaries, 9/7/43.
46. ED 8/45, Meeting of committee on bursaries, 11/11/43.
47. ED 8/45, Meeting of committee on bursaries, 9/12/43.
48. ED 8/45, Paper B 13.
49. ED 8/45, Meeting of committee on bursaries, 24/7/44.
50. ED 8/27, Meeting of Advisory Council, 18/8/44.
51. SED (1942) Education (Scotland) Advisory Council Order, 1942; paragraph 7.
52. ED 8/25, Mackay Thomson to Advisory Council, 18/11/43.
53. Ibid.

54. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on training of teachers, 13/1/44.
55. ED 8/25, Mackay Thomson to Advisory Council, 18/11/43.
56. ED 8/39, Paper 5.
57. ED 8/39, Meeting of Special Committee on technical education, 12/1/44.
58. ED 8/41, Paper 203.
59. ED 8/41, Paper 204.
60. ED 8/41, Meeting of Special Committee on technical education, 20/9/44.
61. ED 8/41, Meeting of Special Committee on technical education, 4/10/44.
62. ED 8/27, Meeting of Advisory Council, 1/11/44.
63. ED 8/41, Paper 257.
64. See also Chapter 9.
65. ED 8/28, Paper 330. Walter Elliot and J Parker, the Second Secretary of the Department, also attended this meeting.
66. ED 8/41, Meeting of Special Committee on technical education, 8/11/44.
67. ED 8/52, Meeting of Advisory Council, 19/11/43.
68. ED 8/52, Paper T 43, discussed at meeting of committee on training of teachers, 13/1/44.
69. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on training of teachers, 13/1/44.
70. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on training of teachers, 3/3/44.
71. ED 8/52, Meetings of committee on training of teachers, 14/6/45 and 15/6/45.
72. ED 8/52, Meeting of committee on training of teachers, 25/6/45.
73. ED 8/49, Paper P 1.
74. ED 8/49, Meeting of committee on primary education, 16/11/44.
75. ED 8/49, Meeting of committee on primary education, 20/1/45.
76. ED 8/49, Meeting of committee on primary education, 28/3/45.
77. ED 8/49, Joint meeting between committees on primary and secondary education.
78. ED 8/22, Mackay Thomson to Advisory Council, 8/1/43.

79. See Chapter 7.

80. ED 8/50, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 15/2/45.

81. ED 8/50, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 13/4/45.

82. ED 8/28, both papers numbered Paper 331.

Chapter 7

The Committee on Secondary Education

The report "Secondary Education"¹ is the *tour de force* of the sixth Advisory Council. Had the recommendations made in that report been implemented in full, secondary education in Scotland would have been radically different from what it was in the post-war period. The committee on secondary education declared itself in favour of the non-selective omnibus school, proposed a School Certificate examination to be conducted mainly by the pupils' own teachers, and advocated a common core curriculum for all pupils to the statutory leaving age. These recommendations on the organisation of secondary education, national certification, and curriculum design, were far-reaching and controversial, and the deliberations of the committee which made these proposals deserve particular attention.

THE OMNIBUS SCHOOL

Briefly, the case for the omnibus school is that this is the natural way for a democracy to order the post-primary schooling of a given area;²

This introductory statement to the case for the omnibus school, the school which "accepts all the post-primary pupils of a given community or of a given area",³ would seem to suggest that the decision to recommend the omnibus school was arrived at readily, was immediately approved by all the members of the committee, and that the evidence offered was overwhelmingly in favour of the omnibus, as opposed to other types of secondary schools. In fact, the committee's general support for the omnibus school as the ideal unit of secondary organisation was only arrived at after much disagreement within the committee, and in the face of contradictory evidence. Indeed, support for the omnibus school as the preferred unit is hedged with so much qualification in the Report, that the principle is seriously undercut. Paragraphs 157-161

make out a case for the junior secondary school, concluding that

..... there are adequate reasons why the system of senior and junior secondary schools should be given a longer trial under more favourable conditions, wherever an education authority considers that the adoption of the omnibus school system is not in the best interests of its area.⁴

And in directly making the recommendation in favour of the omnibus school, there is yet reservation.

Subject to what we say in paragraphs 161 and 180 to 182 /referring to the advantages of centralising small "tops" of omnibus schools, and so undercutting the "community" principle/ we have reached the definite view,, that the omnibus secondary school best embodies the ideals of the new age; and, except where impracticable, we prefer it to any other type of organisation.⁵

This apparent lack of a universally applicable solution to the problem of local organisation at the secondary level reflects the hesitation and reluctance within the committee to prescribe uniformity across the country.

To have been inconclusive or uncertain in this matter does not, however, indicate that the committee treated this topic with less commitment than it deserved. It was in fact regarded as a matter of the greatest importance, and was introduced by Mair, the convener until March, 1945, at the earliest stages of the committee's deliberations. In his paper setting out the areas he considered important within the remit, he drew attention to the fact that in Scotland there was little beyond the "Secondary and Junior Secondary Schools"⁶ and that "it becomes easy to think of an even closer unification, and we seem compelled to face the issue of the "omnibus" secondary school".⁷ Other members' written responses to Mair's memorandum gave the first indications that the subject of secondary organisation would not command ready agreement among committee members. While there was wholehearted support for the omnibus school among some of those invited to commit their views to paper, others felt that it was by no means a panacea, and that the short course schools should be made more attractive. W D Ritchie, who later became the convener of the committee

on primary education, took the view that they should

..... concentrate mainly, on making the shorter courses a significant and arresting feature of Scottish education and a worthy and accepted alternative to the longer courses.⁸

and Garnet Wilson also was of the opinion that the junior secondary school had failed to achieve any real status in the educational system, largely because the senior secondary attracted too many able pupils who did not complete the five-year course. He wanted tighter control over entrants to the senior secondary in order that the "wastage" should be reduced from senior secondary courses and that more able pupils would attend the junior secondary school.⁹

At the first meeting of the committee in December, 1943, the topic of schools organisation was raised, and Mair declared himself in favour of the omnibus school.¹⁰ He received considerable support from other members, particularly Hamilton Fyfe, who stated that he could not see how the junior secondary could have the same prestige as the senior secondary course unless it was on the same campus. He cited his own experience at Christ's Hospital, but this model of the omnibus school was, as Cameron Smail pointed out, *atypical of, and inappropriate to, a public system of education*. Two strong objections were raised against the principle of the omnibus school, (1) that it might not do justice to the "lad o' pairts", and (2) that while the cities could take amalgamations of schools and school buildings to create omnibus schools, they could not readily solve the problem of the small "tops" that a city of medium-sized omnibus schools would be left with. Even those who saw advantage in creating larger educational units would not contemplate the huge school roll required to make economically viable "tops".

Having failed to arrive at any firm decisions by means of discussing the matter among themselves, the committee took evidence in January, 1944.¹¹ Four sources were consulted :- The Association of Head Mistresses (Scottish Branch), representatives of the AHSSS, representatives of the ADES, and Sir William McKechnie. The Association

of Headmistresses could find no objection to the omnibus school, believing that they could deal wisely and well with all pupils to the age of 16 "although they had not much experience of the problem".¹² The representatives of the AHSSS split into two camps, one expressing support for the omnibus school, the other favouring the artificially created multilateral. On one matter, however, they were in agreement – that they would not contemplate the tripartite system as set out in the Norwood Report.¹³ The members of the Association who favoured the traditional omnibus school, did so with the qualification that such an organisation might be inappropriate in the larger cities. The evidence offered by the representatives of the ADES betrays that they did not consider the omnibus school in other than ideal terms. Their support for it was couched in terms of "democratic conception",¹⁴ that the child at such a school "saw his fellows as a whole community"¹⁵ and that the omnibus school was a microcosm of society. Their comments on the practical benefits and disadvantages of this type of organisation were not, on the other hand, pursued in great detail. Of all the evidence presented at this meeting of the committee, that of McKechnie was the least ambiguous. He expressed awareness that some arrangements in curriculum and organisation might have to be amended for pupils beyond the school leaving age, but he had no doubts as to the superiority of organisation on omnibus lines. "In his opinion the only solution was the omnibus school".¹⁶

But this session of evidence-taking brought the committee no closer to an agreed position, and the following month at the regular meeting, Mair suggested that they should "endeavour to reach tentative findings".¹⁷ At least a broad consensus would have to be imposed on the many and various views of the committee. Some felt that a firm case for the omnibus school had been established, others that the omnibus school would be suitable for the small town or burgh but not for other parts of the country, while yet others were of the opinion that the evidence which had been taken was insufficient and conflicting, and that further evidence should be sought. It was this latter viewpoint that prevailed, and accordingly, further witnesses were invited to

express their opinions of the omnibus school at the meeting which took place on 10th March. The witnesses who took up the invitation to appear were Dr Frank Earle, Headteacher of ~~Kirkcaldy~~^{Kirkcaldy} High School, a large omnibus school, J G Lockhart, Headteacher of Falkirk Technical School, five headteachers of junior secondaries, and two former members of the Inspectorate.

If the committee had been hopeful that this second session of evidence would resolve their uncertainties then they were disappointed. Prior to presenting himself to give oral evidence, Dr Earle had submitted to the committee proofs of his book "Reconstruction in the Secondary School"¹⁸ which was the author's justification of the omnibus school. In response to specific questions, he stated that the academic pupil would not suffer as a result of attending an omnibus school, and that pupils taking Domestic, Commercial, and Technical courses, experienced no dilution of status in the eyes of their fellow pupils as a result of their taking shorter courses.¹⁹ Earle advocated the very large omnibus school (of 1000-1200 pupils) or as an alternative to it, the grouping of several schools together under an omnibus or multilateral umbrella. Of the others interviewed by the committee, only Lockhart of the Falkirk Technical School agreed that the omnibus school, or a form of middle school, followed by selection for more specialised courses which would be taken up in the second and subsequent years of secondary schooling, would prove the solution to the problem of reorganisation.

The headteachers of junior secondary schools giving evidence were not invited to comment on the omnibus school, and while being defensive about their own practices, the two headteachers of Edinburgh schools interviewed seemed to disapprove of the junior secondary in principle. By way of contrast, however, the two Glasgow headteachers consulted were of the opinion that the evacuation of Glasgow schools and the non-implementation of the raising of the school leaving age in 1939 prevented the junior secondary from fulfilling its potential. Miss Patterson (headteacher of a junior secondary school in Fife) regretted poor parental attitudes

and early leaving, but made the claim that the junior secondary school was more child-centred in its approach. The former Inspectors interviewed, R B Kerr and G Andrew, favoured the existing organisation as opposed to the wholesale setting up of omnibus schools. Kerr in particular pointed out that omnibus organisation was inappropriate to the cities, and he stated his belief that given time, the junior secondary would improve. Andrew, who had been Senior Chief Inspector of Schools, thought that the existing broad framework was quite sound, and he criticised the omnibus school as being "elitist", and forcing bright pupils towards academic courses. He was sure that the effective raising of the school leaving age would help the junior secondary schools, which would concentrate on general education.

At the next meeting of the committee, Mair again attempted to compel at least a tentative decision, and that the decision should not be against the omnibus school.

It was difficult to evade the conclusion that the weight of evidence they had so far taken was in favour of the omnibus school²⁰

he claimed, but qualified this claim with the statement that

..... he was doubtful whether /that evidence/ was sufficiently weighty to enable them to reach a definite decision.²¹

Other committee members, however, were even less confident that the evidence was generally favouring the omnibus school, and Robertson in particular stated that the discussions with witnesses had made him less inclined towards the omnibus school solution than he had been a few months earlier. Pre-empting further opposition such as that offered by Robertson, Mair had included immediately after his initial advocacy of his proposed solution, the qualification that

He /Mair/ had never felt that the Committee's report should come down in favour of the omnibus school to the total exclusion of the selective school. He thought it important that they should not endeavour to suggest in any way that the free choice of the best organisation should be taken away from the Education Authority. All that he would suggest would be the breaking down of the unfortunate barrier between the two types of secondary education that had been created by the

Department's Circular No 44 in 1921.²²

Having adopted this less extreme position than that of prescribing uniform adoption of the omnibus school the best that Mair could secure from subsequent discussion at that meeting was a resolution that the word "junior" should not be applied to a secondary school. Agreement was also reached that

..... there should be no insistence on the division of secondary education into long courses and short courses.²³

There was no further discussion on the organisation of secondary education until August, and deliberations on the topic were only resumed in connection with papers submitted by the EIS and the National Farmers Union (NFU). The proposals submitted by these bodies were seen to "rather cut across the idea of the omnibus school".²⁴ Geographical and transport difficulties lay at the root of the objections that both of these bodies would have to the universal application of the omnibus school in rural areas. The NFU insisted that country pupils should be taught in country schools, and the EIS envisaged an organisation in which only 20% of the secondary pupils should travel to centralised secondary schools, while the remaining 80% should be given more practical courses in local secondary schools. While in favour of the omnibus school for the cities, the EIS inclined against this type of school in the rural areas. The common conclusion of both the NFU and the EIS was put concisely by Hamilton Fyfe.

..... it seemed fairly clear that the idea of the omnibus school could not hold good in the rural area,²⁵

In spite of arguments against the principle of the omnibus school, there was yet strong support for it within the committee, at least as an ideal or a norm which should only be deviated from should there be overriding reason for doing so. By the late summer of 1944, however, it had become quite clear that whatever the ethical and social arguments in favour of the omnibus school, it could only be recommended

together with the proviso that local conditions must eventually determine how secondary schools should be organised.

The Convener said that he thought that the discussions which the Committee had had were to the effect that where practicable the omnibus school was to be preferred.

..... Mr Munro²⁶ expressed himself in favour of the theory of the omnibus school, and said that he recognised that it could not be carried out in every area. But it should be the exception rather than the rule not to have the omnibus school.²⁷

Just as the committee had found that there were various disadvantages to the countrywide distribution of the omnibus school, so also had the EIS before them discovered that it was one thing to accept the omnibus pattern in principle, but another to contemplate its application throughout the country. In its publication "Educational Reconstruction" (Convener - Crampton Smith, Vice-Convener - Munro), the EIS had stated

The type of Secondary School to be preferred, provided it can be organised within /the limit of 600 pupils/, is the Omnibus School, offering every type of course for children over 12. Where the numbers would exceed this limit, two or more Secondary Schools should be provided, each offering only one of a limited number of courses according to the organisation requirements and the special needs of the area.²⁸

Where the committee of the Advisory Council had been quick to spot problems with the omnibus school in the cities, the EIS had regarded the rural areas as those which might prove least accommodating to the omnibus school.

Further difficulties in regard to the omnibus school were voiced by those who favoured the establishment of high-quality technical schools, particularly Cameron Smail, and at the committee meeting of 21/11/44 there was some discussion of the function of the technical school within any proposed reorganisation of secondary education.²⁹ As had happened so often before, however, Mair stifled detailed examination of viable alternatives to the all-purpose omnibus school. Although he did

not argue his case with any great cogency, Mair seemed to have had his way in his opposition to specialised functional secondary schooling, for at the committee meeting of 1/3/45, it was agreed that there should be no provision for separate technical schools, but that technical education should be incorporated to the mainstream.³⁰ This conclusion was later given support from HMI Ferguson, the Inspector in charge of technical education, who, in two memoranda,³¹ gave his justification for the inclusion of technical education in both three-year and five-year courses.

It would be true to say that by early 1945 there was an awareness in the ranks of the committee that it could not give unqualified support to the omnibus school as the practical solution to the problems of reorganisation. Difficulties had been identified with regard to the cities, the rural areas, and now the specialised demands of technical education, which had again been brought to public attention by the tripartite arrangements endorsed in the English Education Act of 1944. In spite of these considerations, there was a certain sympathy extended towards the omnibus school, and committee members had been prepared to countenance compromises in its favour. There had always been, however, lingering doubts as to the application of the omnibus principle, and at the February meeting, disquiet was again expressed about the omnibus school in the cities by Ritchie, Garnet Wilson, Robertson and Munro, who stated preference for functional schools not in competition with each other. Mair offered the unconvincing reply that

..... what the Committee had decided was consistent with everything that had been said /by Ritchie, Robertson and Munro/.³²

The root cause of continuing uncertainty with regard to "what the Committee had decided" did not, however, lie wholly in the fact that the agreed position left itself open to various, and contradictory, interpretations, but could equally be attributed on any occasion to the fact that what had won the committee's approval had never been committed in the form of even a draft statement. Beyond the minutes of meetings, all

that members had to refer to was their own impressions of what had been decided. Mair's failure to submit drafts for the committee's approval was leading them to cover the same ground time and again, and in so doing amend what had already been agreed.

Mair's resignation from the chair in April 1945, attributed to his ill health, was timely, as in the course of the previous fifteen months he had not gone far beyond setting out a rough outline of the report, and a rather sketchy and not entirely faithful "Summary of Conclusions"³³. Robertson, therefore, once appointed convener, found it necessary to begin drafting the report not on the basis of notes left by Mair, but from written submissions to the committee and the official minutes of its deliberations. His early priority was to demand clarification from his committee on the matter of the omnibus school and functionalisation, but his convenership during the first weeks of his holding office proved no more effective than that of Mair. Experiencing from the chair the inconclusive sort of discussion that Mair had been subjected to so often before, Robertson

..... therefore felt that the Committee should go to the Council in a spirit of amity and fairness and put their differences before them and accept their judgment.³⁴

By way of setting the terms of the debate which would accordingly take place in the larger arena of a full Council meeting, Robertson, in a paper for the Council, drew attention to the most recently proposed variation to the norm of the omnibus school .

The question that divides us is this - Should it be permissible during the period of compulsory schooling to give technical and vocational training in institutions or educational units outside the normal Secondary organisation of the area in question, eg should it be allowable to withdraw boys of 13 or 14 from the Omnibus School of their district and form them into Pre-apprenticeship Classes, Trade Classes or Junior Technical Schools on the English model?³⁵

In his briefing paper, Robertson stated that the majority of his committee opposed any such deviations from the norm, but also advanced the argument of the minority, which

had concluded that

..... aproval of the Omnibus School should not be so absolute as to rule out a form of education which has long since proved its worth in England and is doing so now in Scotland in the marked success of the Pre-apprenticeship Building and Engineering Courses.³⁶

The main participants in exchanges in full Council on this topic were, in fact, the members of the committee on secondary education who had already voiced the strongest opinions on the matter, Cameron Smail, Garnet Wilson, Munro, and Robertson himself; with Cameron Smail and Garnet Wilson arguing in favour of the provision of forms of technical school and pre-vocational units taking pupils from the mainstream before their reaching the statutory leaving age. Cast in his new role of arbiter within his committee, Robertson sought support for a compromise position, stating that the arguments presented by Cameron Smail and Garnet Wilson were

..... ample justification not for the point which had divided the Committee but of the point on which the Committee were agreed, namely, that post-primary education required a large infusion of practical technical pre-vocational interest. Where the Lord Provost /Garnet Wilson/ had failed to convince him was that a specialised type of technical education need start before the end of the compulsory period.³⁷

This view of Robertson's won considerable support from the Council members who were not also members of the committee on secondary education, and had therefore not yet made up their own minds on the issue, but Hamilton Fyfe refused to commit himself, and he offered as his conclusion that this was not a matter on which he wished to divide the Council, but that

..... as a result of discussion the Committee on Secondary Education would in their Report be able to get very near to the views which had been expressed.³⁸

Robertson, however, was not prepared to accept a fudged response from the Council, and he added to Hamilton Fyfe's comments

..... that there was a definite decision of the Committee that they were opposed to the removal of pupils from the ordinary secondary school before the school leaving age was reached. He assumed from the discussion that the Council approved that decision. He saw no reason why the Committee should not be able to lay down the principles of a curriculum which would suit the views of Lord Provost Garnet Wilson and Dr Cameron Smail, provided the education was given within the normal secondary school provision.³⁹

The result of this meeting of the full Council was that the committee was effectively thirled to the omnibus school as the norm, and in Robertson's first draft of the chapter on the organisation of secondary education there appeared the statement that "the case for the omnibus school is that it is the natural way for a democracy to order the post-primary schooling of a given area".⁴⁰ In the summary of recommendations provided by Robertson in this draft there was the assertion that the omnibus school was to be preferred to any other form of secondary organisation except where it was clearly impracticable; that although the tripartite division of secondary education should not occur in Scotland as in England, education authorities should retain the freedom to organise on a functional basis, but, significantly, "That it be not permissible to withdraw children who are still within the ages of compulsory full-time education from the Secondary Schools and to centralise them in Pre-Apprenticeship or other Vocational Courses".⁴¹ This draft chapter was considered by the committee at two meetings on 19th and 20th September, 1945, and at the first of these meetings the part of the chapter discussed was approved with very few amendments suggested. At the second of these meetings, however, a sterner rearguard action was fought by those who had opposed the omnibus school as the ideal or norm, the committee being persuaded to agree

..... that the section of the report on page 8 relating to the place of pre-apprenticeship classes should be re-written⁴²

and that Robertson's summary did not entirely agree with what was the received view of the committee regarding the omnibus school. The official minute records that

In the course of consideration of the summary of recommendations contained on page 10 considerable discussion took place with regard to the omnibus school, as the result of which the Convener undertook to amend the part of the report relating to the omnibus school in order to meet more fully the views that had been expressed.⁴³

This penance duly paid by Robertson, the second draft of the chapter was largely unopposed when it came up for consideration by the committee at their meeting of 13/5/46.⁴⁴

Arguably, the committee's stated preference for the omnibus school was an expression of an ideal rather than a practical suggestion as to what should be the unit of secondary education throughout the country, or even a reflection of the evidence that the committee had taken, and it is of some significance that in its published form, the final report of the committee does not recommend that all Secondary schools be omnibus schools. In fact, in Chapter XI of the Report, "Secondary Education in Rural and Highland Scotland" the frank admission is made that "we can recommend no simple or uniform pattern for the organisation of post-primary schools in the rural and Highland areas".⁴⁵ In place of a rigid prescription for the less densely-populated areas, what was offered was advice to education authorities that

In some areas functional schools will best meet the situation; in others what are omnibus schools at least in the limited sense that they provide both long and short courses and deal with the whole normal intelligence range.⁴⁶

The somewhat rueful conclusion in this chapter of the report was that

Much as we might wish it, it is clearly impossible that all rural secondary schools should be five-year centres, since such a policy would either be prohibitive in cost and wasteful of staffing, or would involve a degree of centralisation most undesirable on social grounds and certain to arouse opposition.⁴⁷

Clearly, in their deliberations regarding the organisation of secondary education, the majority of the committee were torn between what seemed to be implied by a more

“democratic” concept of education, the prevailing moral priority of the day, and what was practicable given the existing post-primary organisation which had developed in seemingly endless variety according to the peculiar needs and conditions of particular areas. It was realised by the committee that if they were to be true to the informing social concerns articulated at the start of their deliberations they would have to recommend a system which would eradicate the inequalities of the past and offer the majority of pupils a pride in their schools and schooling which had hitherto only been experienced by the academic minority. Equally, however, and particularly among those professionally involved in education, there was an awareness that the system to be inherited by post-war administrators had evolved as it had for very sound practical and financial reasons. The narrowly meritocratic ideology which had influenced pre-war organisation was to be eschewed, but the economics of a more egalitarian approach could hardly be contemplated. Moreover, to add to the conflict of ideas, within the committee there were representatives of interests which strove to have the views of their sponsoring organisations represented in the report, or who wished to have their own enthusiasms legitimated in a publication of the Advisory Council. So, both Crampton Smith and Munro, former Presidents of the EIS, took as the starting points of any discussion on organisation the policy of the Institute, and Garnet Wilson, who oversaw in Dundee an integrated system of functional and senior secondary schools, believed that the Dundee arrangement, with appropriate modifications could be transferred to other cities. He was strongly supported by Cameron Smail, who saw in Garnet Wilson’s scheme the possibility of securing improved status and facilities for scientific and technical education, a development which he had urged as a member of the fifth Advisory Council, and which would serve to improve the quality of students entering the Heriot-Watt College, of which he was Principal. In fairness to the integrity of these individuals, though, it is to be noted that they were usually prepared to be swayed by the merits of arguments which they had not immediately found congenial to their established points of view.

In the end, both the written memoranda and verbal evidence submitted to the committee had little effect on the main point at issue, the decision that the omnibus school should be recommended as the ideal. Their contributions were reflected more in the discussions of alternatives to the omnibus school included in the published report than in the positive recommendation made. With regard to "The Case for the Junior Secondary School" the report notes

We are satisfied that these /junior secondary/ schools have secured a considerable measure of public esteem and are fulfilling a very useful purpose. In this conviction we are fortified by the evidence of two witnesses who out of a particularly wide experience hold that any unqualified condemnation of the junior secondary school at this stage would be premature and insufficiently based. Stress must be laid on the fact that the new short-course schools have had a relatively brief trial and under conditions both confused and adverse.

The initial failure to raise the age to fifteen was a crippling blow
⁴⁸

The two witnesses "of a particularly wide experience" were almost certainly R B Kerr, former HMI, and G Andrew, former HMSCI, both of whom felt that the potential of the junior secondary had been largely untapped.

Similarly, in the case of reorganisation in rural areas, the evidence of witnesses rather than the opinions of committee members formed the basis of that section of the report. The committee had first been attracted to the EIS scheme of medium-sized secondary schools differentiated by function for the rural areas rather than the omnibus organisation that they had favoured for the more populous parts. But the EIS scheme found little support from the directors of education in rural areas and HMI specialists in non-urban education who gave evidence to the committee. John Morrison, Director of Education for Aberdeenshire declared himself against the EIS scheme of functionally differentiated 5/6 year schools in rural areas, and in favour of the central academic school surrounded by three year "omnibus" schools which would not offer language teaching. The HMIs also objected to the EIS scheme, stating that it would take pupils away from home unnecessarily. The HMIs inclined towards the

short-course "omnibus" school and away from the uniform distribution of larger 5/6 year functional schools.⁴⁹ In discussing the evidence taken at this meeting, Robertson, in committee the following day admitted the extraordinary difficulty in laying down any general principles about the question of secondary education in the sparsely populated areas. He concluded that

The report would have to state the difficulties and show that no single solution was possible⁵⁰

and that, precisely, was the principle adopted when the section "Secondary Education in Rural and Highland Scotland" came to be written.

Considered as a policy statement, therefore, the committee's proposals for reorganisation could not be regarded as satisfactory in that they were neither simply a natural extension of the status quo nor a radically derived replacement for it. It is somewhat ironic that the idealism of the committee expressed in support for the "democratic" omnibus school should be so tempered by a commonsense realisation of the practicality of existing schemes that the pragmatic approach finally acceded to might be construed as a muddled response. From the start, the principle of the omnibus school had won the hearts of the majority of the committee, but evidence pointing to the wastefulness of numerous small "tops" in the cities, and that the medium-sized omnibus school of some 600 pupils, the EIS's optimum roll, would rupture the social fabric of the rural areas, impressed itself on their minds as logically compelling truths. This resulted in the committee adopting a Janus-like stance, looking both forward to new, ethical, priorities in organisation, and backward to what had been considered efficient organisation in the past. The report was, in fact, clearer in what it could not approve than in what it would. The very large multilateral school "on the American model"⁵¹ could not be contemplated, as this would overturn the principle of the school as an organic entity set firmly in a recognisable community. The tripartite division as proposed for England was rejected on the grounds that it bore little resemblance to the existing system in Scotland, that it was based on

educational and psychological assumptions with which the committee could not concur, that the Secondary Modern schools would inevitably suffer from lack of esteem, and that the principle of segregation was inconsistent with the social philosophy that the committee had adopted. The main fault seen with the junior secondary school was that it had not yet acquired the status it was deemed to merit, and the rather naive hope was expressed, that given time and more propitious circumstances, the shorter course secondary schools might yet prove their worth. In the end, it was Robertson's willingness to see merit in competing alternatives, and to seek an agreed form of words rather than wholehearted commitment from his committee, that led to the ambivalent approach to reorganisation adopted in the report.

EXAMINATIONS AND CERTIFICATES

While the Report concedes the need for flexibility with regard to the organisation of secondary education, it is more rigidly prescriptive in the matter of examinations and certificates. Chapter VIII of the Report, "Examinations and Certificates", contains by way of introduction a critique of the external examination, and an alternative to it in the form of internal assessment to be modified by external sampling and consequent standardisation of the teacher's assessment. This theoretical discussion is followed in the chapter by a summary of the committee's recommendations, principally that there should be a School Certificate to be taken by all pupils at the end of fourth year of secondary school, and that there should be a Higher School Certificate to be taken at the end of sixth year. The School Certificate, on a "subject" rather than a "group" basis, was to be examined internally by teachers, though moderated externally, but the Higher School Certificate examination was to be conducted by the SED.⁵² In coming to these conclusions, three factors exerted considerable influence. First, there was throughout the deliberations a desire that the Scottish pupil should not be set at a disadvantage to his English counterpart with regard to employment in organisations which recruited from the UK as a whole: proposed changes for England were therefore

kept in view. Second, there was an awareness that the statutory leaving age would not be raised to sixteen in the immediate post-war future, and that the committee should make recommendations on the basis of a leaving age of fifteen. Third, that the SED could not cope with a greater examining workload than it had undertaken before the war encouraged discussion that an advisory Examinations Council be set up to assist the Department in the administration of an anticipated increase in the volume of examining on a national standard.

The committee was first encouraged to action on the matter of examinations in the early spring of 1944. Hamilton Fyfe had drawn up a short memorandum "Note by Chairman on Norwood Proposals",⁵³ and this was fed into the papers to be dealt with by the committee on secondary education. Hamilton Fyfe's memorandum contained a brief summary of the reforms that a committee of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council, chaired by Cyril Norwood, had been proposing for England.⁵⁴ Briefly, the Norwood scheme envisaged a School Certificate to be taken at the age of 16+ and a Sixth-Form Examination at 18+. The School Certificate would be awarded on a "subject" rather than a "group" basis, and would grade the performance in each subject on a scale from "excellent" to "weak". The School Certificate would be issued together with a "School Record" which would show the share taken by the pupil in the general life of the school – games, societies, music, drama, and so on. Taken together, the School Certificate and the School Record would give a useful summary of the pupil's career in, and attitude to, the school. The Sixth-Form Examination was to be geared to entrance to university or a major profession, and would not attest to general all-round education, being taken only in the subjects required for entrance purposes.

The real stimulus to constructive discussion on the topics of examinations and certification, however, was a letter from Mackay Thomson.⁵⁵ He indicated that the committee should consider carefully the Norwood Committee's proposals before committing themselves on the Scottish problem. He directed their attention to certain

specific questions which appeared to indicate that the Department had an open mind on the subject.⁵⁶ In one matter only, did he offer a view, that

..... it will be impossible for the Department in future to exercise in respect of more than one Certificate a control so searching as it exercised over the pre-war Senior Leaving Certificate.⁵⁷

He was clearly of the opinion that while the Department should continue to administer the Senior Leaving Certificate or its equivalent as might be recommended by the Council, any modified form of the Junior Leaving Certificate would be beyond the manpower resources of the SED. His suggestion was that

In these circumstances it should perhaps be considered by the Council whether, if there are still to be two Leaving Certificates and the Department is to be responsible for one of them, the other might not be entrusted to the Education Authorities⁵⁸

While offering no active encouragement that a body similar to the Secondary Schools Examinations Council be set up in Scotland, as in England, he drew attention to that Council's role as the co-ordinating unit South of the Border.

Copies of Hamilton Fyfe's and Mackay Thomson's letters were issued to the committee for their meeting of 29/3/44. At this meeting the question of whether a national certificate should be provided for pupils of 15 or 16 was first broached. Munro drew to the committee's attention that it was unlikely that the statutory leaving age would be raised to 16 in the near future, "that 15 might be the age for at least ten years",⁵⁹ and no-one challenged that opinion. In coming to conclusions, therefore, the assumption even at this early stage was that only one year would be added to the current norm of school life. Notwithstanding that there would be no imminent extension to 16, Robertson claimed that there was considerable support for "a good national certificate at 16" which "would make many pupils stay on for an extra year".⁶⁰ But his claim failed to make much of an impression on the committee. Clark's counter-claim "that it might also have the opposite effect inasmuch as there would be pupils who would leave at 16 once they had a certificate who would otherwise have

had to stay on at school to complete a five years course"⁶¹ was better received. Other matters relating to the function of a School Certificate and to the place of a record of work in the credentialling of pupils were also discussed at that meeting, but the most significant contribution to the discussion was that of McClelland, who declared himself against the grading of pupils over three years in other than "tool"⁶² subjects. The conclusion took cognisance of his remarks.

It was provisionally agreed that a certificate should be issued to every pupil on leaving school and that the certificate should indicate the standard of attainment as ascertained by examination in tool subjects.⁶³

With no mention of whether the certificate should be on a simple pass/fail basis, no reference to the internal/external component, or by whom the examination might be administered, the committee seemed to be inclining towards the principle of "certification for all", without specifying the detailed arrangements for this certification.

But these contentious matters had to be resolved, and at the May meeting, considerable progress was made. Before these issues were taken up, however, the decision implicit in the conclusion of the previous meeting, that there should be an award of a certificate to all school leavers, was overturned. At this later meeting the age set for taking the School Certificate was 16, the determining factor in fixing the age at 16 being the perceived need for compatibility with English arrangements. Robertson pointed out that the standard required by national bodies was not the same on both sides of the Border, and that where the English School Certificate would usually satisfy employers these same employers required the stiffer Scottish Leaving Certificate.

From this point of view, it appeared to him that there was a strong case for the examination at the upper end of the school being at the end of the fourth year instead of at the end of the fifth.⁶⁴

Robertson's later arguments suggest that he was not wholly committed to a fourth year certificate as a suitable target for all pupils, but there was considerable support

in the committee for his suggestion. Cameron Smail stated that "in the interests of pupils, Scotland should have an examination parallel to that operating in England",⁶⁵ and Hamilton Fyfe "preferred the English system because it permitted of partial specialisation in the later years".⁶⁶ Hamilton Fyfe followed this remark with "educational justification" of his arguments for the certificate at 16. The "educational justification" according to Hamilton Fyfe

..... could be found for a certificate at 16. It was the time when the seal should be put on the pupil's general education and when he should start to specialise for his future career.⁶⁷

The decision to this end seemingly taken, it was agreed that rather than receive a certificate at the leaving age of 15, the early leaver should content himself with a record of work.

Some hope that a system which combined internal and external elements was briefly encouraged, McClelland asserting that his experience had convinced him that teachers could usually manage to sort their pupils in an accurate order of merit, but that their standards of marking might be as much as 30% at variance with each other. Further exploration as to how standardisation might be effected was, however, ruled out by Robertson, who stated that

..... throughout the discussion the honesty of the teaching profession had been pre-supposed. Wherever the content of the decisive examination was known beforehand, the teacher might distort the subject matter in some way, either by teaching the known questions or by avoiding them. He would not object to such a method provided that the papers were set externally. He would be all in favour of internal examinations if perfectly honest and courageous teachers and an enlightened public could be postulated.⁶⁸

That teachers were not "perfectly honest and courageous" and that the public was not "enlightened" was taken by the committee as a self-evident truth, and accordingly, it was resolved that the teacher must not be allowed to correct his own pupils' papers. This being the case,

Sir William Hamilton Fyfe said that a summary of their discussion seemed to be that while it would be desirable to leave the examination to the teacher there were certain reasons against such a suggestion which were fatal. It followed that the examination should be an external one.⁶⁹

In addition to the apparently firm decisions that the School Certificate should be taken at age 16, and that it should be conducted by an external body, one other important topic was discussed at that meeting, the setting up of a "special examining body composed of representatives of the Department, the Universities, the Central Institutions and the teaching profession."⁷⁰ The setting up of this body had been proposed by Clark during the morning session, and he had envisaged it not only as an external examining body but also as an instrument for promoting consultation among its constituent bodies. Towards the end of the meeting, which had extended beyond the usual 4 o'clock, the advisory Examinations Council as described by Clark was seized upon by Hamilton Fyfe as an appropriate consultative body in the operation of the new examination. This suggestion was readily agreed to by McClelland, who saw in the Examinations Council an agent for research in assessment. He urged that

The important thing was to get the council established and to get the idea into the minds of its members that they were a developing body and were to carry on research with a view to arriving at the method best suited to the Scottish educational system and to the pupils' needs.⁷¹

So after a day of intense debate it seemed that the committee had come to firm conclusions as to the form and conduct of the main national examination, and had agreed on a structure for its administration.

An early indication as to how the Department might respond to proposals for the creation of a new Examinations Council was given at the next meeting of the committee, when Mackay Thomson gave evidence. He had been invited to give information about the pre-war Leaving Certificate, and he proceeded to do so after first comparing the Scottish and English arrangements. In the course of describing the

English system he referred to the co-ordinating function of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council, and declared that no comparable body was required in Scotland: the Department as examiner regularly held post-mortems with the EIS, and periodically consulted with the Scottish Universities Entrance Board,

It could therefore be argued that without the machinery of a Council, all three parties with a substantial interest in the examination were given the same opportunity of influencing the scope and character of the examination.⁷²

He did admit, however, that the administering of the Leaving Certificate was an enormous undertaking, and when questioned by Crampton Smith as to the Department's ability to continue on existing lines once the school leaving age had been raised he did not give a direct answer. He had apparently set his face against the Department calling on the assistance of any 'external' body, but had formulated no definite policy as to how it would cope with an increased volume of examining other than to refer the lower level to education authorities. Mackay Thomson's resistance to the suggestion that a new body be set up did not, however, deter the committee from eventually recommending this course, and indeed, as their deliberations continued, the idea received greater support from the members.

The day after Mackay Thomson had given evidence Mair, as yet convener of the committee, sought some assistance as to the form that the report should take. Certification figured prominently in the ensuing discussions, but rather than confirm what had appeared to have been firm decisions, the committee again argued the merits of a certificate or school record at 15, and whether there should be an external examination at 16 for all pupils, disquiet being expressed that such an external examination might be inappropriate for pupils in the junior secondary school. If, however, the only hope of the junior secondary pupil obtaining a certificate was to be by means of external exam, the principle was acceded to. Setting the standard of the examination proved a contentious point, for while Robertson was in favour of an examination suitable to the senior secondary pupil "to run parallel with England",⁷³

Munro and McClelland's argument, that part of the function of the School Certificate at 16+ was to equalise the status of the junior and senior secondary school, prevailed. The two main decisions issuing from this discussion bore on the nature of the School Certificate examination.

It was agreed that there should be an examination for a certificate at the end of the fourth year available to all pupils.⁷⁴

and

It was agreed that the examination for a school certificate at age of 16 should be sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of all pupils at the end of a four years' course of secondary education whether in a junior or in a senior secondary school.⁷⁵

This June meeting seemed to have cast aside any doubts that the examination geared to early-leaving pupils would take place at other than age 16, but at the next meeting of the committee a fortnight later, the claim was made by Clark, who had not attended the previous meeting, that the examination and certificate should be related to the leaving age of 15. He was opposed to the "tentative decision" that there should be a school certificate examination at the age of 16, and he declared himself of the belief that such a certificate should take account of the statutory leaving age. The weight of opinion, however, in accord with the previous decision on the matter, was opposed to any external examination at the age of 15. But there was some sympathy for the view that what should be issued to the 15 year old leaver was not a record of work but a certificate based on that record. With an eye towards standardising the content of records of work

It was agreed that the report should contain a recommendation that the Secretary of State should compile a form of the certificate in consultation with interested parties.⁷⁶

Attention was then focused on the standard of the examination at 16, and the extent to which it would be internally or externally conducted. The oft-repeated, and main objection to the external written examination was that it might prove unsuitable for,

and distort the curriculum of, the 15 year old leaver, that the very existence of this examination as a seemingly attainable goal would attract teachers to it as the ultimate object of their teaching. Against this persistent objection was set the need for a uniform standard, which could only be achieved by application of an external component. Apparently, however, there was as yet no objective means of standardising teachers' marks, according to McClelland, and with insufficient Inspectors to effectively sample scripts and standards, the external examination seemed the logical conclusion. The committee was reluctant, however, to sanction the external examination, and although it was recorded as a "tentative conclusion" that "there should be a school certificate examination at the age of 16 and that it should be an external examination",⁷⁷ Hamilton Fyfe, after lunching with McClelland, added

He /Hamilton Fyfe/ thought that the report should contain a caveat stating why it was desirable to get rid of the external examination, but stating that it was not possible to do so in the meantime as without such an examination it was not possible to have a national standard.⁷⁸

At this same meeting the topic of an Examinations Council was pursued further, Robertson making the point that while such a Council would not improve upon the conduct of examinations when compared with the Department, because of its wider representation it might help to produce more suitable papers. On the subject of control, it was held that the Department's position should not be usurped, but that the Council should act in an advisory capacity prior to the setting of papers. In terms of composition, this second discussion as to the function and constitution of the Examinations Council envisaged it as being broadly based.⁷⁹ A further role specified for the advisory Examinations Council was that it should work towards establishing a national standard on internal examinations.

In direct contrast to former occasions on which 'agreement' had been reached over certification and the larger problems of examining and credentialling pupils, this meeting went further, outlining specific terms for the award of the School Certificate.

It was to be a simple certificate recording passes; a pass in as few as one subject would secure the certificate, but a minimum number of subjects must be taken in preparation for the examination. There was also confirmation that there should be two diets of examination each year to take account of the two leaving dates of the junior secondary school, but, surprisingly, in the light of this latter provision, the assumption was maintained that the certificate would yet be linked in some way with matriculation. The spirit of resolution was sustained to the conclusion of discussion on the topic. With little by way of altercation or hesitation, decisions referring to the next tier of certification, the Higher School Certificate, were obtained. Five points were laid down: the name of the certificate would be the Higher School Certificate; the Department would prescribe the course to be followed; it would cover a period of at least two years after the School Certificate had been gained; the subjects taken should be those required for entry to a university or profession; the Advisory Examinations Council would have the same functions to perform with regard to this certificate as it had in the case of the School Certificate.

This might well have been an appropriate point for Mair to have summarised what he took to be the committee's position on certification, for the relevant arguments had been well rehearsed in the course of the foregoing half year. Tentative "decisions" had also been arrived at, and a considerable degree of "agreement" had been reached on the issues discussed. But as had been the case with the reorganisation of secondary education, the convener declined to draw together the views of the committee, with the result that there remained considerable uncertainty on a number of points. A "Broad Outline of the Report"⁸⁰ was in fact produced by Mair and Davidson, the Assistant Secretary to the Council, but this brief paper was only the sketchiest summary of many of the topics debated by the committee. A fuller statement would almost certainly have prevented the apparent absence of an agreed position shown when evidence was later taken from representatives of the EIS.

The committee's taking of evidence from the EIS on 10th November was, in fact, an

extraordinary business. In the course of discussing "The Examination and Certificate System", the internal discipline of both parties, the Council and the EIS, broke down, with representatives of the EIS contradicting each other, and Council members allying themselves with either one or other of the EIS factions. Dr Clark made use of this occasion to reiterate once again his contention that the leaving age of 15 rather than 16, was "the natural time at which there should be a certificate",⁸¹ and Dr Murison, one of the EIS deputation, admitted that what he had said at one point "was against his own argument",⁸² and on another occasion that "he was arguing against his own view".⁸³ Crampton Smith, in seeking too ready agreement with what he took to be the view of his EIS colleagues, declared against what the Council had apparently decided, that the proposed School Certificate at 16 would in no way be linked to matriculation. Towards the end of the session the EIS took the initiative, and proposed that on the matter of the age at which the School Certificate might be taken, they would consult their Executive, and convey their decision to the Council. In the event, the EIS "disapproved of the principle"⁸⁴ of a certificate at 16. What was most astonishing about the meeting, however, was not that it bore little resemblance to a structured discussion, nor that the Council was so compliant in handing over the initiative to the EIS, but that it was so eager to accommodate EIS policy. That four of the Council members (Clark, Munro, Robertson, Crampton Smith) had strong EIS ties might account for this, but another factor contributing to the general confusion and lack of unity within the committee was that the Council had no concise statement of its "agreed" position to defend, amend, or even refer to.

The main contribution made by the EIS deputation was that it obliged the committee to come to a better understanding of its own position. Certainly, when representatives of the AHSSS gave evidence that afternoon, the committee presented a more united front, remaining solidly behind an examinations structure of a school record at 15, the School Certificate at 16 and the Higher School Certificate at 18. The deputation from the AHSSS was made up of a majority who supported co-ordinating certification with

the statutory leaving age, and a minority who favoured certification at 16 and 18, whatever the leaving age might be. The main concern of the majority of the AHSSS was that school leavers ought to have something to take from the school, though that something need not necessarily be a national certificate – a local authority document would do. The minority view of the Association was, however, better received by the committee. The minority advocated a national certificate at 16, free from university entrance considerations, to be followed two years later by a matriculating certificate. This scheme was, in many respects, similar to that which the committee had already argued towards.

In the course of that day's deliberations nearly all of the difficulties surrounding a certificate at 16 had been discussed. The majority of the witnesses approved in principle an examination at 16 rather than at 15, but many of those who favoured the examination at 16 foresaw difficulties with regard to curriculum design for as long as the leaving age remained 15. The weight of opinion among the witnesses, therefore, was that it would be a mistake to introduce an examination at 16 for as long as the leaving age remained 15. On one point there was universal agreement, that matriculation should not be related in any way to performance in an examination at 16. In fact, the committee already had partly yielded on that point, for in addition to Crampton Smith's remarks to the EIS deputation, Robertson pointed out to the AHSSS that in England "In view of the Norwood Report, they could take it that the school certificate /in England/ would not in future be an entrance to the universities".⁸⁵ The intention in suggesting that the School Certificate should relate to university entrance had been inspired by pre-Norwood conditions in England. These conditions now seeming likely to be overturned, there was no need that the Scottish certificate should be connected in any way with matriculation.

Effectively, the meetings with the EIS and the AHSSS resulted in clarification of the committee's position on examinations and certificates. Mair's "Summary of Conclusions"⁸⁶ makes clear how the committee stood with regard to these matters

just before he demitted convenership. Although vague on many other of the topics that had been discussed, this paper drawn up by Mair is concise on the credentialling of pupils. There was to be a certificate based on a record of work for 15 year old leavers; the School Certificate at 16, conducted externally, would be on a "subject" rather than a "group" basis; and the Higher School Certificate, "run by the Department purely and simply for the purposes of entry to University or profession"⁸⁷ would be taken two years after the School Certificate. An Advisory Examinations Council "to advise the Secretary of State beforehand as to the standard and type of paper set"⁸⁸ would also be created. The implications of the "Summary of Conclusions" were thoroughly explored at a committee meeting of 13/4/45,⁸⁹ but no significant changes from the earlier position were recommended. Robertson's first draft of the chapter on "Examinations and Certificates"⁹⁰ faithfully reflected what the committee had approved at the April, 1945, meeting, and accordingly, the draft was approved, with no more than cosmetic amendment, at a meeting in September, 1945.⁹¹

It is unclear how a record of work rather than a certificate based on a record of work came to be recommended in the published Report, but the change in the School Certificate from a wholly external examination to one based on internal grading with external moderation, owes much to the committee's oft-repeated distaste for the external examination, and perhaps a realisation that the Department would not be able to cope with the burden of two national examinations, one of which (the School Certificate) would take place twice a year to meet the two leaving dates of the junior secondary school. The introduction of a procedure for scaling teachers' marks, and thus allowing the School Certificate examination to be conducted internally (with external moderation), was literally, the last act of the committee. An undated paper of 1946 begins

The Chairman and Mr McClelland suggest that the following be substituted for paragraphs 190, 191 and 192 of the chapter on Examinations and Certificates appearing in Paper SE 110 /Robertson's draft as amended at the September, 1945, meeting/. This chapter as it will appear in the Report to be considered by the council is not in

precisely the same terms as it is in Paper SE 110, as effect has been given to the amendments agreed at the meeting of the Committee held on 13th May /1946/.⁹²

The crucial amendment rendered the School Certificate an internally-assessed examination, the teachers' marks being scaled according to the procedure outlined in the published report.⁹³ The statistical procedure described in this paper was amplified in a later one by McClelland, who demonstrated in the later paper how it might be applied to several subjects of the curriculum.⁹⁴ Whether it was McClelland's papers that succeeded in persuading the committee to adopt the scaling procedure, or whether the holding of the final meeting close to midsummer's eve at the Trossachs Hotel also exerted an influence is a moot point. Whatever the source of inspiration, the decision taken was that

The Committee unanimously agreed to amend the Chapter on Examinations and Certificates on the lines indicated in Papers SE 119 and SE 122, and, subject to the approval of the Council, it was remitted to the Chairman, the Convener, and Mr McClelland, to adjust the Chapter.⁹⁵

In coming to the conclusions eventually published in their recommendations, the committee was influenced to a greater extent by the convictions of its most forceful members than by the advice or evidence of witnesses. In fixing the age of the critical examination for most pupils, the School Certificate, at 16, the Council effectively rejected the view of the EIS and other professional groups which recognised that in spite of their desire for a national certificate at the age of 16 for the majority of pupils, the failure to raise the leaving age beyond 15 would render this proposal less practical. In following the Norwood principle of a certificate at 16, the committee believed that it was not only offering the Scottish pupil equality of opportunity in the labour market with his English counterpart, but that they were encouraging greater equality of status between the junior secondary and the senior secondary pupil. The decision not to award the School Certificate on a graded basis, but on simple pass/fail

criteria, was consistent with the committee's declared opposition to extreme competitiveness. The provision of a record of work for the 15 year old school leaver and the eventual discovery of a statistical procedure to allow the School Certificate to be internally assessed, were seen as measures which would discourage unnecessary restrictions or unduly academic emphasis within the curriculum, and, clearly, it allowed it to be more aptly tailored to the individual.

The cramping effect of "the external mass examination" had long been regarded by Hamilton Fyfe as "a great evil". As early as May, 1943, he had written to Tom Johnston on this matter in vivid rhetorical terms

..... I wish I could persuade you that /the external mass examination/ is the fundamental evil. Everyone deplores the moral and mental results, but assumes that such examination is a necessary evil. It is not. Children should be tested by their own Teachers, checked and aided by Inspectors. That does no harm. And to trust the Teachers would do more than anything else to raise their status and release their educative activity.

Administrators would howl, and even teachers may object. Many of them hug their chairs. That is only further proof of the tyranny of the Certificate examination. It frustrates the efforts of the good teacher and comforts the inertia of the bad, while it leads the pupils to believe that the object of schooling is not to think for oneself, but to learn the teacher's answers to anticipated questions. That breeds hypocrisy and the belief that education ceases on leaving school - why read or otherwise acquire knowledge, if you are not going to be examined?

I don't apologise for all this, because I don't expect that you will read it. If you should, I would like to assure you that, if in your speech on the Education Estimates you could declare war on this hydra system of examination, many of us would begin to hope that Scotland may once again lead the way in Education.⁹⁶

McClelland, too, was a committed opponent of external examinations, and throughout the committee's proceedings he consistently argued against its proliferation. It was accepted as inevitable that the Higher School Certificate should be externally conducted, but in allowing two years between the first school examination and the Higher School Certificate, the committee reaffirmed its principle of allowing pupils ample time for their individual development. Like the School Certificate, the Higher School Certificate would be on a single subject basis, and for those whose strengths

lay in particular areas of the curriculum rather than across it, this arrangement held the advantage of their talents being recognised, the emphasis again being on the personal maturing of the pupil rather than forcing him to run the gauntlet of a mandatory "group", and necessarily run it successfully if he were to obtain a certificate at all. The recommendations on examinations and certificates, therefore, were the guiding principles of the report translated into a strategy to meet the demands of the world outside school for pupil credentialling.

CURRICULUM AND METHODOLOGY

While the practical starting point of recommendations on the curriculum was what had already been agreed on the wider administrative issues, the organisation of secondary education and a structure of national certification, it was not inconsistent that the committee should revert to *a priori* philosophical and educational arguments as the basis of their detailed recommendations. Fundamental to the detailed advice of the committee was the Hadow, and later EIS, ideal, that secondary education should be regarded not as a kind, but as a stage of education. This principle entailed that the secondary education provided should be suitable for all pupils and not geared to a privileged, "academic", minority as had clearly been the case at the beginning of the twentieth century, and was still so on the outbreak of World War II. Commitment to secondary education as a stage was expressed by the committee in terms of a "core plus options" curriculum to the age of 16, the core to contain what was deemed necessary for all pupils, and the options to provide for individual aptitudes. The committee argued

It is possible to see in all secondary education from twelve to sixteen a unity which is not illusory or merely sentimental but real: for underlying every difference of class or taste or talent is an identity of childish and adolescent need and response which is best met by the formulation of a curriculum broadly uniform in content and purpose.⁹⁷

The committee was quite explicit, however, that in advising broad uniformity it was not ignoring the mental, dispositional, and developmental differences in pupils.

"Common course" is but slight advance on the concept "broad uniformity", but even for the first year of secondary education, that was a measure that was not recommended. The report tackled the problem squarely.

Some prominence has been given to the suggestion that there should be for all pupils a "common course" throughout the 1st year of the secondary school; but though we are very sensible of the difficulties this seeks to get rid of, we cannot commend it.⁹⁸

The difficulties referred to, mis-selection for secondary courses and that an undifferentiated first year would give pupils the opportunity to reveal their individual bents and qualities, had been brought up by J G Lockhart, Principal of Falkirk Technical School, when he gave evidence to the committee in March, 1944,⁹⁹ but the justification given for the rejection of his advice was that

Equality of educational opportunity can never mean forcing markedly unequal abilities to do the same or equal things even for one year¹⁰⁰

The concession that the committee did recommend to pupils entering the first year was that they should be exposed to as few different teachers as possible, and that one teacher should have a special responsibility for each first year class.¹⁰¹

The core curriculum to be taken by pupils was to comprise Handicrafts (Household Arts for girls), the Arts, Religious Instruction, Physical Education and General Health; and Intellectual Studies made up of English, Number and Spatial Relationships, General Science, and Social Studies. Mathematics and Foreign Languages were to be consigned to the "elective" area. On examination, it may be seen that the core curriculum recommended was strongly non-specialised, and it urged a conscious attempt to bring together cognate academic disciplines, with the object of implying that knowledge need not be broken down into artificially determined school "subjects".

In speaking of "Social Studies" instead of history, civics and geography, we are not falling into the sin of pretentiousness. What we seek to convey is that during the earlier secondary years at least the study of man in his world, like the study of science, is a unity, which

should not be broken by any sharp division into 'subjects'¹⁰²

The "oneness" of knowledge was, in fact, a fundamental principle of the committee's attitude to the curriculum, for in addition to the merging of traditional subjects, and that specialist teachers should give instruction in related disciplines, it argued strongly that topic-centred project work and "Dalton type" blocks might find a place in the curriculum. In addition to these rather controversial innovations, "one or two afternoons might be given to hobbies or approved activities".¹⁰³

In urging sympathetic attention to pedagogical innovations, including Project Work and the Dalton Plan, the committee had drawn on published works and educational methods in vogue with those in the vanguard of educational experiment. The Dalton Plan, which involved pupils in striking a "contract of work" with their teachers, had been developed in America to allow pupils to take a measure of responsibility in the day to day organisation of their curriculum while ensuring that the full curricular programme was covered. It had had little currency in England and less in Scotland in the pre-war period. The Activity Curriculum was less specific as to the details of "subject" content, and was based on a centre of interest as the source of multi-disciplinary learning activity. The committee showed considerable enthusiasm for the Activity Curriculum in particular, inspired to a great extent by the evidence of Dr Thomas Wright, Headteacher of Coatbridge Secondary School.¹⁰⁴ The "Activity Curriculum" as described by Wright and defined by the Report, was largely Kilpatrick's "Project Method". The theoretical basis was that children are by nature active rather than passive, and that the starting point of meaningful learning is the interest of the child. This interest should be seized upon by the teacher and developed along various lines to broaden the experience of the learner. In his attempts to introduce this method at Coatbridge, Wright had succeeded in encouraging pupils to make a wireless set, in having them run a canteen, conduct a survey of local industry, and present a pageant. They had also performed the rather less exciting task of growing mushrooms. Wright's apparent success had been undercut to some extent, however, by the

opposition of parents who were more concerned with current examination requirements, and by the reluctance of teachers who had been trained in traditional methods, to adjust to Wright's revolutionary curriculum. When questioned directly by the committee, Wright admitted that there were many practical impediments to the introduction of the "Activity Curriculum", a caution reflected in the Report's approval of the system.¹⁰⁵

More central to the committee's curricular scheme than these possible innovations, however, was the provision of a "core plus options" structure. In the timetables published in the Report, drawn up "with no little reluctance",¹⁰⁶ the principle of providing a substantial common core of subjects throughout the first four years of secondary education was observed. The initial inspiration for a core curriculum was provided by Cameron Smail. In his first written submission to the committee, he remarked that one of the functions of schooling was to take into account the vocational ambitions of pupils and prepare them for the world of work. He pointed out that those who were prepared to meet the demands of society by opting for technical education should not be obliged to do so at the expense of their general education. Accordingly, for all pupils the equitable solution would be that of appending specialised subjects to a general core. The core suggested by Cameron Smail was rather narrower than that finally approved, but his paper succeeded in drawing attention to the fact that any proposed curriculum would have to take into account both the general *education* of the pupil and specialisms useful to his future career. In addition to advocating the "core plus options" structure, Cameron Smail suggested certain questions to be put to witnesses, as below :-

1 Do you consider training in Humanism, Mathematics and Science as an adequate core for technical occupations?

2 Do you consider training in Languages necessary and desirable for all pupils or for some groups only?

3 Do you consider training in auxiliary subjects such as Handicraft and Domestic Science essential for all pupils?

4 Do you consider that pupils proceeding to the University should have the same type of education as those leaving school at an earlier age to take up employment?¹⁰⁷

As a preliminary to giving oral evidence, the earlier witnesses were in fact presented with a set of questions, including Cameron Smail's.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, when these witnesses were called, specific questions relating to the curriculum were often lost in the flow of general discussion,¹⁰⁹ or, as described by the Association of Directors of Education, when the question of a core curriculum was raised

At this point the discussion was diverted by members of the Advisory Council to a general talk on Junior Technical Schools and Pre-Apprenticeship training.¹¹⁰

Even when the agenda was followed, as it was, for example, with the Association of Headmistresses, comments tended to be contradictory, but on balance, seemed to incline towards approval for unspecialised courses in the early years of secondary education. Echoes of the session of 21/1/44 filter through to the final Report.

Miss Robertson /George Watson's/ agreed with Miss Mason /Morrison's Academy/, but said that any bias should not be given before the age of 14.

..... the majority view of the /Headmistresses/ Association was that languages should be taught only to certain groups.

Mr Weir said that the /AHSSS's/ view on training in languages was that it was not necessary for all.¹¹¹

During the course of 1944 and early 1945 there developed a tacit assumption on the part of the committee that they would eventually favour a "core plus options" structure for the curriculum, but it was not until just before Mair retired as convener that the question of what should be included in the core was defined as an "irreducible minimum".¹¹² The stimulus to discussion on this occasion was a New Zealand educational report "The Post Primary School Curriculum",¹¹³ which Mair referred to as

"a valuable book" that the Assistant Secretary, Davidson, "had handed him".

It contained a very good definition of a core which the Committee might very well adopt. The definition was that the core consisted of what any intelligent parent might expect his son or daughter to be given at school (apart from studies indicated by special vocational needs or professional talents). He thought that the core of subjects might be given up to the time of the pupil leaving school or taking the school certificate examination at the age of 16, whichever was the earlier.¹¹⁴

The exclusion of a language other than English from the core was agreed to quite readily, and the minutes of the meeting vouch for acceptance of the other core contents proposed.

Mr Ritchie suggested that in dealing with the irreducible minimum the Committee should confine themselves to arithmetic and not to mathematics. The problem of the core must be looked at from the point of view of the poorest pupil. It should include music and arts and crafts. Mr Robertson agreed, and said it should also include something called general science.¹¹⁵

At this meeting, not only was the general principle accepted, but the main areas of the core were also agreed to.

But agreement on these matters was not quite as spontaneous as the minutes would seem to suggest, both mathematics and the teaching of languages had provided much discussion at an earlier stage, as had the demands to be made on pupils in the name of science. As early as December, 1943, the committee had discussed the amount of mathematics and science believed necessary for life in "the modern world",¹¹⁶ and Cameron Smail had argued strongly for the inclusion of science and mathematics in the curriculum of every boy and girl. He was supported by McClelland in his point of view, and indeed, McClelland's belief that "all would agree with Mr Cameron Smail's argument that while science should be in the curriculum of all pupils, languages need not",¹¹⁷ was challenged neither by committee members nor by those who were giving evidence.

The inclusion of handicrafts in the core curriculum – for all pupils – was rather less

predictable than that arithmetic and science should be deemed essential for all. At the very first discussion on the content of the curriculum, however, Robertson declared his support for Handicrafts. "No core which excluded Handicrafts would satisfy him",¹¹⁸ and given the support of such powerful voices as those of Ritchie and Cameron Smail, and that there was a general concern for the status of technology in the wider world, the point was accepted. Certainly at the drafting stage there was no opposition to the inclusion of handicrafts in the core, perhaps because both handicrafts and domestic science were well supported both within and outwith the committee. Tom Johnston had been outspoken on the topic of cookery in schools and the Association of Organisers of Domestic Science had submitted a memorandum, pointing out that Domestic Science should be part of all basic courses for girls from the age of 12 years.¹¹⁹ A much more detailed submission had been made by HM Inspectress Miss Kennedy, which contained a suggested outline for the teaching of Domestic Subjects, and a skeleton course over 3 years aimed at A, B, and C pupils in the junior secondary school, and at retarded pupils.¹²⁰ With regard to timetabling, if domestic science was to be made compulsory for all girls in the early stages of their secondary schooling this would have to be matched by handicrafts, or some other practical subject, for boys. The other subjects of the core, English, religious studies, the arts, and physical education, were entirely unsurprising once the principle of the core had been established, as they had been common to most courses to a greater or lesser degree before the war.

While the main sources of the committee's views on the curriculum can usually be traced with a degree of accuracy, the decision that traditional subject boundaries should be broken down is less easy to explain. The report sets out the committee's views on the topic of subject boundaries.

All the traditional subjects should be continually thought of and presented not so much as bodies of ordered knowledge but rather as great fields of human endeavour and achievement. This means far more attention to historical background and a new effort to give the pupil, especially the non-bookish pupil, a sense of purpose in what he is

doing.

..... The duty of co-operation between departments in a school should be preached in season and out of it, and headmasters should accept some little sacrifice of conventional orderliness if the prevailing compartmentalisation can thereby be diminished and even a modest degree of integration achieved.¹²¹

The committee's adoption of this attitude, while not readily traceable, was entirely consistent with its support in principle for the Activity Curriculum. It could also legitimately be argued that it was a logical extension of their belief that secondary education should be a natural extension of primary education, typified by its lack of rigidity with regard to subject timetabling, and overall flexibility stemming from one teacher's being responsible for all instruction within the curriculum, except for the "specialist" subjects. This typical aspect of primary education was reinforced by the recommendations of the committee on primary education. As well as the influence of the committee on primary education, there was the Advisory Council's report on citizenship, which had declared that "almost every subject of the school curriculum can be taught in such a way as to make a contribution towards training for Citizenship",¹²² and by way of explaining how subjects might so be adapted, had quoted Lord Acton

..... Lord Acton said:- "Study problems, not periods," ie not unrelated "events" but processes which, begun in the past, leave traces and in a sense never come to an end. History should be studied to gain insight into situations in which we are called upon to act. "Significance to the world of today" is a sound test to apply to any programme of history lessons designed for the citizen of tomorrow."¹²³

.....

The touchstone to be applied to history could quite easily be used to test the relevance of any other subject, and for the committee on secondary education, curricular relevance was an important criterion.

The most influential ideas, indeed, in the determination of the curriculum arrangements proposed by the committee were the principles laid down in Chapter II of the Report, "Approach to the Remit". These, and the constraining decisions

regarding certification and the organisation of secondary education affected the deliberations on curriculum more tellingly than any external witnesses or publications. True, the EIS had exerted considerable influence through its publications and representation on the committee in impressing the view that secondary education should be regarded as a stage of every pupil's education and that a very limited number of teachers should be responsible for teaching the subjects of the First Year. But in the major innovation recommended by the Council, the "core plus options" curriculum, there was a clear difference between the EIS and the committee. The EIS favoured course differentiation for pupils classified according to IQ, within the unifying structure of the omnibus school, where possible, but throughout the pamphlet, "Educational Reconstruction" the emphasis was on the provision of equality of educational opportunity by means of comparable courses for different groups.

With the raising of the age of full-time attendance at school to the age of 16, ultimately, every normal child is assured of a Secondary education for a period of four years, but this universality must not imply uniformity in the type of course to be provided. The diversity of ability, temperament and interest among pupils demands a wide diversity of courses established on a broad common basis of a general and humane education.¹²⁴

"The School Curriculum",¹²⁵ also published by the EIS, describes in greater detail than "Educational Reconstruction" how pupils should be classified at the age of transfer from the primary to the secondary school, and goes on to outline which sort of curriculum might be suitable for each of A, B, C, D and E pupils. Briefly, the course for each should begin with a rehearsal and consolidation of what had been learned in the latter stages of the primary school, and then should progress differentially from that basis. As with "Educational Reconstruction", the assumption was that whatever curricular core there might be to secondary education it ought not to be formalised as such in the structure of the curriculum. The difference between the EIS and the Advisory Council was one of emphasis, for both recognised the need for a common core. The EIS, however, chose to emphasise the appropriateness of particular recommended courses to recognisable groups of pupils while the Council emphasised

what it regarded as the essential unity of education to the statutory leaving age.

The committee's emphasis on the core rather than the elective area stemmed from a desire to draw attention to what all secondary school pupils had in common rather than highlight the differences between them. In pursuit of this aim, the committee tended to consider the needs of the majority of pupils in their deliberations rather than concentrate on those of the academic minority. The Council did not apologise for this predisposition, but gave brief justification for it.

If we have concerned ourselves most with the provision of suitable schooling for ordinary children, it is not because we regard the intellectually-able minority as unimportant but because we think them not too ill-served by those traditional forms of secondary education which were in the first instance designed for such as they. The urgent problem is to evolve a new type of schooling that will suit the many as well as the old fitted the few.¹²⁶

There was, however, considerable concern within the committee that the education of the intellectually-able pupils should not be sacrificed in the interests of the less academic majority. Among the staunchest supporters of the able pupil was Robertson himself, who, in the discussion of Wright's version of "The Activity Curriculum" was strong in the defence of traditional methods for the able pupil.

Mr Robertson said that so far as the ablest pupil was concerned he would maintain that he was not ill-suited by the present curriculum and approach Mr Robertson said that while he admitted that the big problem was in relation to the 85 per cent of less able pupils for whom there should be a revolutionary approach he was concerned that nothing was done which would prejudice the A pupils who mattered very much¹²⁷

In fact, at this meeting, Robertson was quite tenacious in his insistence that the needs of the "lad o' pairs" should not be prejudiced, returning to that theme even when discussion had moved on to other topics, insisting that the A pupil "was entitled to special consideration"¹²⁸ and declaring that in the resolution of this issue, "the future of democracy was at stake".¹²⁹ On assuming convenership of the committee, he was obliged to seek compromise in the interests of achieving consensus, and indeed in

drafting the Report he noted that

..... the advantage of some must never be secured by sacrificing the educational wellbeing of the many.¹³⁰

In coming to this conclusion, Robertson was not simply indulging in an expedient shifting of allegiance from the minority to the majority of pupils, but was responding to the arguments of other committee members. In fact, the committee on secondary education was a crucible in which views underwent considerable change. Cameron Smail was obliged to moderate his ideas regarding separate organisation for pupils specialising in technical education, Munro and Crampton Smith often argued against EIS policy, and for a considerable spell both McClelland and Hamilton Fyfe had to suspend their anathema for the external examination. Inevitably, long-held convictions and partisan loyalties would often determine members' initial stances in debates, but it was rarely the case that alignment with the main conclusions of the majority could not be secured. In the case of the curriculum, a more equal balance between the needs of the majority and those of the minority was sought, and if this were to eventually entail an overstatement of the case for the majority, and a redress in their favour, then the committee would consent to that course.

* * * * *

The secondary education the Advisory Council envisaged was simple in conception; for all four years of quite general schooling with more justice done to the aesthetic and practical sides: then, for those who wished it and would profit by it, two years of reasonably specialized work in course of which the pupil might insensibly grow into the student. Believing, like our English opposite numbers, that the 17-18 year was soon enough for the external examination to invade the schools, we proposed to assess the 12-16 stage by internal tests, externally moderated and then at 18 a searching external examination

.....¹³¹

In this simplified summary as to the intentionality of the committee on secondary education, Robertson omitted to refer to the role to be played by the omnibus school, but, as has been seen, school organisation did not have a major function in the overall

strategy recommended by the Advisory Council. The reforms desired could be effected, in the view of the committee, more by reshaping the content and structure of the examination system than by any other single measure. There was, however, an underlying assumption in arguing towards a "core plus options" curriculum that the pupil population of the school would have a range of ability and aptitude similar to that of the omnibus school, and that a majority of pupils could be persuaded to complete a four-year course. The model of the four-year course suited to the average pupil was that which the committee's recommendations implied as the norm, and all three, organisation, examinations strategy, and curriculum, combined to produce that norm. The broad sweep of the recommendations made by the committee took as its inspiration the popular feeling of the early years of the war that education ought to be "democratised", and, certainly with regard to organisation, the committee responded to the idealistic temper of the times in preferring the omnibus school to others, but it also heeded the advice of practical-minded witnesses who could point to the weaknesses of an insistence on the universal recommending of the omnibus school. Less attention, however, was paid to those witnesses who urged that the examination system ought to be co-ordinated with the school leaving age, the committee convincing itself that a later examination would justify their faith in it, a conviction matched by Norwood in England. In the matter of curriculum, neither the pioneers of change nor the constraints laid down by the committee's decisions on organisation and certification could be ignored. In producing model timetables, the committee steered the middle course of recommending advances on contemporary practice, but no sweeping rejection of all the components of the curriculum then followed in the secondary school.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmnd 7005.
2. Ibid; para 164.

3. Ibid; para 143.
4. Ibid; para 161.
5. Ibid; para 143.
6. ED 8/50, SE 2.
7. Ibid.
8. ED 8/50, SE 4.
9. ED 8/50, SE 6.
10. ED 8/50, SE 9, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 10/12/43.
11. ED 8/50, SE 15, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 21/1/44.
12. Ibid.
13. B of E (1943) Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: Report of the Committee of the Secondary Schools Examination Council Appointed by the President of the Board of Education; HMSO, London.
14. ED 8/50, SE 15, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 21/1/44.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. ED 8/50, SE 21, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 17/2/44.
18. Earle, Frank (1944) Reconstruction in the Secondary School; ULP, London.
19. ED 8/50, SE 30, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 10/3/44.
20. ED 8/50, SE 34, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 29/3/44.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. ED 8/50, SE 48, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 17/8/44.
25. Ibid.

26. Robert Munro was head teacher of a Junior Secondary School and a former President of the EIS.
27. ED 8/50, SE 52, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 5/10/44.
28. EIS (1943) Educational Reconstruction; EIS, Edinburgh.
29. ED 8/50, SE 57, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 21/11/44.
30. ED 8/50, SE 66, meeting of committee on secondary education, 1/3/45.
31. ED 8/50, SE 78 and SE 82.
32. ED 8/50, SE 65, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 15/2/45.
33. ED 8/50, SE 58.
34. ED 8/50, SE 71, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 13/4/45.
35. ED 8/28, Paper 331.
36. Ibid.
37. ED 8/28, Meeting of Advisory Council, 27/4/45.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. ED 8/50, SE 77.
41. Ibid.
42. ED 8/50, SE 80, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 20/9/45.
43. Ibid.
44. ED 8/50, SE 111, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 13/5/46.
45. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 648
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid, paras 157 and 158.
49. ED 8/50, SE 75, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 24/5/45.

50. ED 8/50, SE 76, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 25/5/45.

51. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 139

52. The full recommendations of the committee are as below:-

- (1) That there be no external examination for boys and girls leaving school at fifteen.
- (2) That each pupil leaving school either at 15 or without securing the School Certificate referred to in (3), be supplied with a record giving particulars of his work in the secondary school.
- (3)(a) That a School Certificate be instituted, to be taken at the end of the IVth year of secondary school. (This involves two examinations a year, since junior secondary schools have two commencing dates).
- (b) That this certificate be awarded on the results of internal examination conducted by teachers in each school and a process of standardisation carried out by the Scottish Education Department.
- (c) That this School Certificate be not awarded on a group basis, but show the subjects included in the course and those on which a pass has been obtained.
- (4) That a Higher School Certificate, also on a subject basis, be instituted, to mark the completion of various types of VIth Form course.
- (5) That the external examination for the Higher School Certificate be conducted by the Scottish Education Department.
- (6) That on the institution of the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate the award of the Senior Leaving Certificate be discontinued.

Extracted from:- SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; op cit; para 232.

53. ED 8/50, SE 17.

54. B of E (1943) Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: Report of the Committee of the Secondary Schools Examination

Council Appointed by the President of the Board of Education;
HMSO, London.

55. These questions are adapted from Mackay Thomson's note, ED 8/50, SE 28.

1 Should the Junior Leaving Certificate and the Senior Leaving Certificate continue to be awarded at the end of the third and fifth years of Secondary education?

2 What arrangements, if any, should be made to modify the existing internal/external components of the JLC and the SLC?

3 Should the Scottish universities adjust their terms of entrance?

4 Should there be a change in the regulations regarding the number of subjects required for the Leaving Certificate?

5 Should the award be made on a group basis or on individual passes no matter how few?

6 Should the award be made on pass/fail criteria or should other gradations be admitted?

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. ED 8/50, SE 34, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 29/3/44.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. At no point are the papers on the Advisory Council explicit as to what is meant by "tool" subjects, but the term presumably refers to the basic elements of, or basic concepts required for, a desired level of literacy, numeracy, or other necessary skill.

63. ED 8/50, SE 34, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 29/3/44.

64. ED 8/50, SE 37, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 4/5/44.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. ED 8/50, SE 44, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 22/6/44.

73. ED 8/50, SE 45, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 23/6/44.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. ED 8/50, SE 46, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 5/7/44.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. It was agreed that the Council should have an independent chairman and be composed of representatives of the Universities, the Central Institutions, the Training Colleges, the teaching profession, Education Authorities, Chambers of Commerce, Trades Unions, the Scottish Council for research, and the professions, that the members should be nominated by the Secretary of State after such consultation with the interested parties as he thought necessary, that the largest single representation be that of the teaching profession, and that their representation should not be less than one third of the total number.

80. ED 8/50, SE 49.

81. ED 8/50, SE 68, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 10/11/44.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. ED 8/50, SE 59.

85. ED 8/50, SE 68, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 10/11/44.

86. ED 8/50, SE 58.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.
89. ED 8/50, SE 71, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 13/4/45.
90. ED 8/50, SE 77.
91. ED 8/50, SE 80, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 20/9/45.
92. ED 8/50, SE 119.
93. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; op cit, paras 199-224.
94. ED 8/50, SE 122.
95. ED 8/50, SE 123, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 20/6/46.
96. ED 8/22, Hamilton Fyfe to Johnston, 25/5/43.
97. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 261.
98. Ibid; para 185.
99. ED 8/50, SE 30, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 10/3/44.
100. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 187.
101. Ibid, para 132.
102. Ibid, para 96.
103. Ibid, para 128 (6).
104. ED 8/50, SE 35.
105. ED 8/50, SE 44, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 22/6/44.
106. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 573.
107. ED 8/50, SE 7.
108. ED 8/50, SE 9.
109. As described in, for example, ED 8/50, SE 15, Meeting of committee on secondary education at which the ADES gave evidence, 21/1/44.
110. ADES papers – unheaded paper, 18/5/44, signed J B Frizell, Hon Sec, ADES.

111. ED 8/50, SE 15, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 21/1/44.
112. ED 8/50, SE 66, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 1/3/45.
113. New Zealand Ministry of Education (1944) The Post-Primary School Curriculum: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Minister of Education in November 1942; New Zealand Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand.
114. ED 8/50, SE 66, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 1/3/45.
115. Ibid.
116. ED 8/50, SE 9, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 10/12/43.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. ED 8/50, SE 36.
120. ED 8/50, SE 54.
121. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; paras 128 (3) and 128 (8).
122. SED (1944) Training for Citizenship: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmd 6405; para 35.
123. Ibid; para 38.
124. EIS (1943) Educational Reconstruction, op cit; p 15.
125. EIS (1944) The School Curriculum; EIS, Edinburgh.
126. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 20.
127. ED 8/50, SE 37, Meeting of committee on secondary education, 4/5/44.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
130. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 31.
131. Robertson, J J (1966) "Snakes and Ladders: Episode in a Long Story", Times Educational Supplement (Scotland); 9/9/66.

Chapter 8

Published Reports of the Sixth Council: an Overview

In chapter 6 it was noted that the sixth Advisory Council was responsible for thirteen reports in all, which had been produced in three distinct phases of its term of office. In the published form, however, there are only ten reports. The reason for this anomaly is that the first and fourth reports, Continuation Classes (Interim Report) and Compulsory Day Continuation Classes, were published together in the one document,¹ as were the second, third and sixth reports Teachers' Salaries (Interim Report), Extent of the Problem of Supply of Teachers, and Teachers: Supply, Recruitment and Training in the Period immediately following the War.² As a result of this administrative convenience, six published reports in all were available before the passing of the 1945 Act. The reports completed before the passing of the Act, with their rather narrow remits, and often the requirement that they be produced at an early date, gave the Council little scope for expressing innovatory ideas of pedagogy or curriculum, but they did allow it the opportunity to comment on important questions of provision and organisation. More importantly, perhaps, the experience gained by the Council in producing these reports, gave its members the self-confidence to be more ambitious and adventurous in tackling later work.

The reports produced after the 1945 Act are more fully developed and longer than the preceding ones, and are more illustrative of the Council's educational standpoint than the earlier ones. Two of the later reports, that on the training of teachers³ and the major report on technical education,⁴ deal with problems that had been considered in earlier reports, and while the major report on technical education showed no significant signs of development in the Advisory Council's thinking on that subject, that on the training of teachers expresses a very different attitude from the 1943 document. The final report on technical education was consonant with the interim

report⁵ because the problem of the provision of technical education was recognised as a developing long-term one which had been dealt with in summary form in the interim report and later expanded. The apparent inconsistency between the earlier report dealing with teacher supply and related problems, may be accounted for by noting that the first report addressed itself to a short-term problem while the later report concentrated on the long-term future of teacher training and the institutions in which that training would take place.

The clearest expression of the Council's views on the content and conduct of the education system are found in the four post-Act reports, but taken together, all ten published reports display a set of recognisable features, which may be taken as the Council's considered and agreed attitude to the process of education. Throughout the reports there is an emphasis on :-

- (1) The expansion and more equal provision of education;
- (2) Central control by the Scottish Education Department, assisted at regional level by representative councils;
- (3) Upgrading the status of the teaching profession;
- (4) Breaking down the barriers between school "subjects", and expressing liberal and progressive attitudes to the organisation of education, and in the curricula of the various constituent stages.

EXPANSION AND MORE EQUAL PROVISION OF EDUCATION

The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act,⁶ as well as unifying the public system, had legislated for a great expansion of education, mainly through lengthening the school life and making provision for further and adult education. Between the wars, however, this expansion existed more in the statute book than in reality, the appointed days for the implementation of the several advances seemingly deferred for ever. In the course of its term of office, the sixth Advisory Council worked towards the expansionist targets set by the 1918 Act, and beyond these targets, and recommended means by which existing legislation might be given administrative effect. Indeed, the reports presented before 1945, with the exception of that on citizenship, took existing

legislation as the starting points of proposals, and generally, made practical recommendations as to how that legislation could be brought into practice.

The report, "Teachers: Supply, Recruitment and Training in the Period immediately following the War", makes quite clear the developments that were to be worked towards

- (a) The raising of the school leaving age to 15;
- (b) The institution of compulsory day continuation classes;
- (c) A reduction in the size of classes;
- (d) An extension of the provision of nursery school;
- (e) An extension of the provision for backward and handicapped children;
- (f) The institution of new types of secondary school and an increase in the demand for the longer secondary courses.⁷

The implication for the future, therefore, was that a commensurate expansion in teacher training would have to take place, not only to make up the arrears resulting from under-supply during the war (met by the employment of married women and retired teachers), but also to match the needs of expanding educational provision. It was with this expanded provision in mind that the incentives recommended towards the end of that report, namely shorter courses of training, less rigid selection, and improved salary scales for teachers, were framed.

More immediately concerned with securing expansion, however, was the report on compulsory day continuation classes, which explained the need for these classes in terms of "wastage", pupils leaving school to take up "blind alley" jobs, and to provide guidance to adolescents.

The steadying grip of a kindly hand is at present not often sought, but none the less it is clearly necessary, and such helping guidance may do much to solve the human problems of the adolescent period as well as employment difficulties⁸

The report notes that the majority of pupils terminated their education at the age of 14, and that only a few took advantage of existing facilities for continued education. A figure of 25-30 per cent was put on those attending continuation classes under

existing conditions, but it was regretted that many of that 25–30 per cent attended for brief periods only. The solution proposed was that Section 15 of the 1918 Act be enforced, with modifications "to meet present day conditions". It was formally recommended that from the age of 15 to the age of 18 young people be required to attend continuation classes "during daytime inside the normal hours of employment"⁹ for 320 hours in each year. To cope with these compulsory measures it was recommended that colleges for further education should be established.

The reports on adult education grants¹⁰ and education authority bursaries¹¹ were also written with the aim of establishing wider provision, in the sense that by encouraging adults to take advantage of expanded facilities, and ensuring that deserving cases should receive bursaries, the "wastage" which plagued the system might be reduced. The recommendations made in these reports were quite specific, and were more amenable to ready implementation than those of the report on continuation classes, whose recommendations depended to a considerable extent on the establishment of local junior colleges. The reports on adult education grants and education authority bursaries, in particular, from among those produced before the passing of the 1945 Act, exemplify the Council's ability to tackle problems of administration and provide straightforward and acceptable solutions.

The remit tackled in the report on adult education was

To consider whether grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund should be made to voluntary organizations making provision in Scotland for the education of adults of 18 years and over, and if so, under what conditions, and to make recommendations.¹²

Enquiries had not proceeded very far, however, before the Council came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to exclude from their consideration the general question of the conditions under which grants in aid of adult education should be made. It was felt by the Council that the question of grants to voluntary organisations could not satisfactorily be disentangled from that of other grants, those to local

authorities from the central Department, for the purpose of adult education, for example.

In order to justify the extended remit as well as the eventual recommendations, the contemporary position was described and explained in terms of the legislation leading up to that position. Briefly, adult education was financed through education authorities, fees and endowments, but the education authority contribution varied from authority to authority. This anomaly arose because the authorities did not receive government grant in proportion to the provision of adult education, but according to the numbers of teachers and learners within their area. By the block grant provisions of financial year 1921-22, education authorities received government support on the basis of

Number of full-time day pupils;
 Number of full-time teachers in day schools;
 valuation of area.¹³

Claims for continuation classes were allowed at the rate of

800 hours of attendance = 1 pupil
 800 hours of teaching = 1 teacher¹⁴

No allowance was made for adult education at all beyond the age of 18 until after 1934, in which year the 800 hours of attendance/800 hours of teaching formula, was applied to adult education for the calculation of grant.

This method of financing was still regarded as unsatisfactory by the Council, not only in that it did not separate the often more expensive adult education provision from other educational provision, but that it resulted in vastly different ranges of fees for the consumer according to the area in which he lived, on differential charitable provision, and on rates of payment to teachers and lecturers. The financing of adult education in England seemed much simpler and more equitable. Under the Adult Education Regulations, England and Wales, 1938,¹⁵ ad hoc grants were payable to appointed bodies other than local authorities (often 75 per cent of tutors' fees). This

allowance was much more generous than the 50.9 per cent that the Advisory Council had calculated was being contributed to the combined continuation classes/adult education sector in Scotland.

It was therefore recommended that the block grant, based on pupil hours and teacher hours should be replaced by a percentage grant paid to the education authority, which should be the only body entitled to direct government grants in respect of adult education classes conducted for their area. In order that other bodies interested in, and contributing to, adult education should not be excluded from influencing the direction of a sector of education with which they had strong traditional links it was further recommended that adult education in Scotland should be conducted under the aegis of a national council made up of representatives of education authorities, and of the universities and voluntary bodies. The national council would oversee the activities of regional councils constituted on similar lines.

The report on education authority bursaries, similarly, set out to impose uniformity among authorities where it had not existed before, and in so doing, create conditions favourable to educational expansion. The report was, in fact, a statement of the Council's views as to how financial provision for pupils could be made fairer on the raising of the school leaving age to 15. The starting point for discussion was Section 4 of the 1918 Act,¹⁶ but prior to recommending on the basis of the Act, the Advisory Council quoted SED Circular 116 of 1939,¹⁷ which was the Department's own explanation of Section 4 of the Act. This Circular also contained the SED's intimation to education authorities that they were obliged to submit new bursary schemes in the light of the leaving age being raised to 15 in September of that year.

The object of Section 4 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, is to secure that no child who satisfies the prescribed conditions shall be debarred from secondary education by reason of the expense involved.¹⁸

Section 4 of the Act required that, where necessary, appropriate financial provision be made by local authorities, and that the details of the provision should be submitted to

the Department. In response to Circular 116, each education authority had submitted revised bursary schemes to take account of the raising of the leaving age, but these schemes were quite diverse, and offered little by way of uniformity.

The most that can be done is to describe features that are common to most of them, and to refer to any particular points of special interest.¹⁹

The Advisory Council was dissatisfied with the schemes that had been submitted, mainly because it regarded the awards as inadequate in many areas, and that the schemes as they stood did not provide equality of educational opportunity across the country. There were also noted, however, particular faults within bursary schemes, and the report drew attention to the following:-

(1) that pupils in attendance at pre-vocational courses for the building industry were in receipt of much higher grants than their fellows of the same age and family circumstances at a secondary school.²⁰

(2) that bursaries for both secondary and higher education were insufficient.²¹

(3) that mentally or physically defective children in attendance at special schools were not eligible for bursary assistance.²²

Perhaps of greatest concern, however, was that the standard of award under the English Education Act of 1944 was more favourable and more comprehensive than that of the Scottish Act of 1918. The position under the Act of 1944 was set out in paragraph 21 of the report

The Minister of Education is to make regulations "for the purpose of enabling pupils to take advantage without hardship to themselves or their parents of any educational facilities available to them".²³

The Advisory Council recommended that the Secretary of State for Scotland should make regulations that would be equally wide-ranging, and fairer to those who had been apparently discriminated against by the 1939 local authorities' arrangements.

The recommendations made in the two reports on technical education were in accord with the Council's overall strategy of expansion. The main report contains a chapter "The Development of Technical Education in Scotland",²⁴ which is a historical account of how expansion occurred in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the recommendations in the two reports expressed the belief that that expansion should continue. The interim report laid down the recommended hierarchy of technical provision on which the other recommendations largely depended, and stated the need to allow for growth beyond the Advisory Council's prescription.

The Committee envisage for the future a system which will be capable of expansion and growth on a national basis.²⁵

To provide technical education in the post-school sector, the committee on technical education proposed a review of the role of Central Institutions, which would concentrate on advanced courses to a greater degree than they had done in the past, taking students from their own region and also from other parts of the country. Technical colleges would meet local requirements at a less advanced level, and there would be colleges for compulsory day continuation classes, which would include technical education in the curriculum. In addition, there would be day and evening classes where the establishment of technical classes proved impracticable elsewhere. By these means an integrated and expanded system of technical education would be provided.

The main contribution of the report on secondary education to the expansionist philosophy of the Advisory Council was the proposed instituting of a School Certificate to be taken at the end of the fourth year of secondary school. The appointed day for the raising of the school leaving age to 15 had been set at 1st April, 1947, by central Government, and this raising of the leaving age in itself would be instrumental in expanding provision. If, however, the acquisition of the School Certificate were to become the norm, as the report implied, the leaving age for the majority of pupils would become 16 and not 15. The standard set for the School

Certificate, "It must not be pitched so high that young people of normal ability can reach it only by a docile surrender of the whole evening to book studies",²⁶ together with the fact that it would not be tied to university matriculation, would render it the achievable goal of the majority of pupils. To cope with the demand for the certificate, therefore, the secondary sector would have to expand beyond planned limits.

Equalising educational opportunity was a prime concern of the report on secondary education, and in this respect it was consistent with the other reports of the Advisory Council. The equalising strategy throughout the reports of the Council, as in the secondary report, was not simply to redistribute existing resources, but to prescribe extended provision. This extended provision could then be organised in such a way that some of the inequalities of the past might be eroded. Many of the inequalities had been caused through geographical disadvantage that had not been taken into account in central allocation of funds, and the Council's continuing concern for rural education can, in part, be attributed to a perceived need for fairer treatment in country areas. One of the Council's preferred means of procuring country-wide fairness was the setting up of regional and national councils made up of representatives of interested parties.

REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS AND CENTRAL CONTROL

In all of the reports of the sixth Advisory Council there is the underlying assumption that effective control of the educational system of Scotland should remain in the hands of the SED, and that Education Committees of local authorities should continue to be responsible for local administration. The Council regarded its own function as purely an advisory one, and indeed, in matters in which it regarded itself as either incompetent or lacking the legal power to give effect to recommendations, remits or their implications, were in a very real sense referred back to the Department. With regard to the report on Citizenship²⁷ for example, after recommending that five years be set apart as a period of experiment in training for citizenship, the Council

suggested that soon after the second year of the quinquennium of experiment, the SED should publish a report, and continue to do so annually for the duration of the experimental period. In the reports on adult education grants and education authority bursaries, the onus was put on the SED to frame regulations and legislation that would incorporate Advisory Council recommendations.

In order to assist the Department in the performance of its function, a greatly increased function should the expansionist measures be carried out, the Council proposed the establishment of a variety of regional or provincial councils, and national councils to co-ordinate the work of lower level councils. These councils would be made up of representatives of groups interested in the appropriate sector of education, and their function would be to implement and advise on policy rather than make it. The role envisaged for the regional councils on compulsory continuation classes, for example, was to "secure advances on parallel lines",²⁸ while that of the corresponding national council was to discuss problems of major importance in policy and recommend how uniformity of action might be achieved.

As has already been noted, in order to promote adult education in Scotland, it was proposed that the Secretary of State should establish a regional council for each major area of the country, and that general oversight of adult education in Scotland should be in the hands of a Scottish Adult Education Council, composed mainly of representatives of regional councils. Developments in the recruitment and training of teachers, and in technical education, were also envisaged as taking place under the auspices of councils. In order to co-ordinate the anticipated increase of applications to the teacher training centres in the post-war years, it was proposed that a central Selection Board be set up, supported by provincial boards. The functions of these provincial boards would include recommending applicants to the central board and counselling those not immediately acceptable for training as to how best they might qualify themselves. By using this two-tiered structure it was believed that uniformity of quality among applicants from different parts of the country might be achieved.

Going beyond the problem of teacher supply, and foreseeing a time when the status of the profession would be raised, the major report on the training of teachers also looked to representative councils to administer the prestigious Institutes of Education recommended in that report as improved models of organisation for the existing training centres.

Each Institute of Education should be under the management of a Council which should also act as the training authority for the province. The governing bodies of the constituent colleges /of the Institutes/ should be Committees of the Council. Central control and co-ordination should be secured through a Scottish Council of Institutes of Education.²⁹

A similar two-tier structure was recommended for the promotion of technical education. Four regional councils, and the possibility of a fifth, for the Highland area, were proposed, all to organise technical provision regionally, overseen by a National Advisory Council. As with the other national councils, the National Council on Technical Education would survey national requirements, co-ordinate the work of regional councils, and make recommendations to the Secretary of State.

One other body that the Advisory Council recommended should be brought into existence was an Advisory Examinations Council

..... set up by the Secretary of State, with an independent chairman and representatives of the teaching profession, the education authorities, the universities, the central institutions, the Scottish Council of Institutes of Education, the chambers of commerce, the trade unions, the Scottish Council for Research in Education, and the professions; that the members be nominated by the Secretary of State, after consultation with the interested parties: and that the largest single representation, amounting to not less than one-third of the whole membership, be that of the teaching profession.³⁰

Once created, this permanent body would fulfil the function of consulting with the SED on questions of examinations policy – standard, scope, and general nature of examinations. In so doing it would replace representative committees of the Scottish Universities Entrance Board (SUEB) and of the EIS, with whom the SED regularly conferred on matters relating to examinations policy. Not only would this Examinations

Council be more representative of interested parties, but, being permanent, and governmentally appointed, an obligation would be laid upon the SED to consult it. Hitherto, the SED had consulted with the SUEB and the EIS only at its (the SED's) discretion.

While the position of the Department as the controlling authority in Scottish education was not challenged by the Advisory Council in any of its reports, the setting up of regional, national and examination councils could be interpreted as a step forward in confirming the position of interested parties in the formal structure of educational governance. The advent of councils would have required the recognition of these bodies in Departmental regulations, and compelled dialogue between the SED and representatives of interest groups as a matter of standard practice where formerly such dialogue had been on an ad hoc basis. The setting up of panels of teachers by the SED to assist the Department on examinations design might be construed as a threat to the SED's established authority over a powerful instrument of control, as might the right of secondary teachers to conduct internal assessments for the proposed School Certificate. But the extent to which SED control would be affected is arguable, Advisory Council reports consistently affirmed that central control must reside with the Secretary of State and his professional advisers, but argued that others professionally involved with education should have the right to participate in the implementation of policy, and to have their voices heard in the decision-making chambers.

UPGRADING THE STATUS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Concern was implied, and occasionally expressed in the reports of the Advisory Council as to the low status of the teaching profession and the training institutions during the war and before it. In the inter-war period teaching had been widely regarded as not yet having attained full professional status: inspection by HMIs and the need for external examinations, together with ungenerous remuneration and unattractive conditions of work and training, were often regarded as impediments to

full professional status. While the Advisory Council did not recommend that school inspection be discontinued nor that external examinations be dispensed with altogether, it did comment on the roles of the Inspectorate, and suggest changes in the system of examinations, as well as make recommendations with the overt purpose of enhancing the prestige of the teaching profession.

With regard to formal examinations and the teacher's role, the boldest recommendation was perhaps that of the report on secondary education, that a School Certificate be introduced, to be taken at the end of the fourth year of secondary schooling, and awarded on the results of internal examinations conducted by the teachers in each school, and externally moderated by the SED. Such an innovation could properly be regarded as an advance in the professionalisation of teachers, who had never before been authorised to take a major share in the responsibility for assessing their pupils for national certification.³¹ Other measures proposed to improve the status of teachers was that they would make up not less than one third of the proposed Advisory Examinations Council and that they should take a prominent part in arrangements for transferring pupils from the primary to the secondary school.³²

It was in the reports dealing specifically with teachers, however, that there was a sustained concern for the status of the teacher. In the report "Teachers: Supply, Recruitment and Training in the Period immediately following the War" there is an appendix which was in fact the Advisory Council's first response to the remit of May, 1943. The substance of this response was little other than a plea for an immediate increase in the salaries of teachers, without which, "the schools will be unable to satisfactorily meet the demands which will be made upon them after the war",³³ In that appendix, improved salaries were seen as an incentive to recruitment. In the full report, however, improvements including those in remuneration were recommended not simply as a means of resolving a problem caused by the war-time emergency, but as a policy for enhancing the status of the profession. Recommendations were also

made as to how the teaching profession might be made more attractive in terms of physical environment of teaching, and career prospects. These recommendations ranged from the rather hopeful "Encouragement of Teachers to take part in Community Activities" to suggestions as to how teachers should be given more responsibility in the control of the training of teachers.³⁴ Recommendations relating to the physical environment were that the Government should give a firm commitment to substantially reduce class sizes as soon as the necessary teachers became available, that the quality of premises and equipment should be upgraded, and that there should be clerical assistance for teachers. Periods of sabbatical leave on full pay were recommended, and it was hoped that "The teaching staff should be given more opportunities than at present of influencing the general educational policy of the school".³⁵ Lack of career development opportunities was seen as a serious problem, particularly for women, who were rarely promoted in co-educational schools. This concern was expressed, but the solution offered, that of "Reduction in the size of schools, a reform which is very desirable on educational grounds, /creating/ a greater demand for head teachers, lady superintendents and infant mistresses",³⁶ is perhaps more expressive of hope than expectation.

A firm financial incentive was, however, recommended for non-graduate women

..... in the case of teachers qualified under Chapter IV, non-graduate women who have had a four year course of training in a Training Centre or College be paid on the same salary scale as graduate women, and that a proportionate increase be made on the scales for non-graduate women who have had a course of training of less than four years.³⁷

A thorough review of the whole question of salary scales for Chapter VI teachers was also recommended. The general advice given on salary scales was that Standard National Scales as opposed to Minimum National Scales might be considered, so ensuring uniformity of salaries across the education authorities; that the number of increments be reduced; and that responsibility payments should be re-assessed.

Looking to the long-term post-war future, the 1946 report, "Training of Teachers",

emphasised the need for a thorough training in the professional aspects of the course, recommending that the equivalent of two years' study be allocated to purely professional preparation, as opposed to general studies.³⁸ The non-graduating course for women was to be one in which professional training and general education were combined and integrated over a period of four years, thus extending the course, and, the general trend recommended in the earlier report on supply and recruitment was to be reversed: training would be extended from pre-war norms rather than abbreviated. Post-graduate professional training would be no less than a year, even if a higher degree were held, and in the case of graduates embarking on courses leading to a qualification to teach in primary schools, a two year course was prescribed.³⁹

In addition to recommending improvement in the teacher's career prospects and in his training, the Advisory Council advocated that the training colleges should give young teachers continuing support once they were in service, and that the colleges themselves should be broader based. It was recommended that in order to promote in-service training no fees should be charged for this training and that there should be as little encroachment on teachers' leisure and vacation time as possible.⁴⁰ Newly-qualified teachers would be kept abreast of developments by "carefully selected" advisers.⁴¹ The narrow functionalism of colleges was rejected in favour of institutions which would be in the van of educational research: they would be teaching and research centres not only of education but of related disciplines, like social work, especially where such disciplines impinged on education.⁴² The concept of the training centre as a closed institution was rejected; its activities were to be co-ordinated with those of other training colleges of the province, and in association with the activities of the neighbouring universities and other institutions of higher learning.⁴³ By widening the functions of training colleges and integrating their activities in Institutes of Education it was felt that the status of the colleges would be improved, that Institutes of Education would attract staff of the highest attainment, principal lecturers being comparable in status to university professors.⁴⁴ The

long-term objective behind these proposals was that teaching should become more attractive to young people of high calibre, and that the profession would thus be encouraged to make itself more professional.

ORGANISATION OF THE CURRICULUM

Detailed discussion on curriculum and pedagogy can be found in the Advisory Council's reports on primary and secondary education. But the Council's attitude to the treatment of the content of education and to that content itself, was first indicated in the report on citizenship, presented in October, 1943. This report recommended that the teaching of citizenship ought not to be conducted as the study of a timetabled "subject" until the year immediately preceding the statutory leaving age.⁴⁵ Until that time it ought to be incorporated as an aspect of the normal curriculum, taught principally in geography and history classes. It was emphasised in this report, however, quoting the Association for Education in Citizenship, that almost every subject of the school curriculum could be taught in such a way as to contribute towards training for citizenship.⁴⁶ The emphasis in teaching ought to be on the relevance of the subject to everyday life,

..... Lord Acton said:- "Study problems, not periods" ie not unrelated "events", but processes which, begun in the past, leave traces and in a sense never come to an end.⁴⁷

This inter-relationship between history and citizenship, events of the past and those of the present, is indicative of the Advisory Council's attitude to school "subjects". What had started as an indication as to how the teaching of an aspect of life, citizenship, might be undertaken, was developed in later reports to become the starting point for discussion about the curriculum and how that curriculum ought to be taught.

The fullest statement as to the inadequacy of "subjects" as units of study was given in the report on primary education.

..... the idea of a school "subject" is a logical device or abstraction. The giving of separate names to different skills and branches of knowledge and the making of clear dividing lines between them is attractive to the logical mind and is within limits a useful procedure; but it tends to obscure the unity of all knowledge and the infinite interrelation of things in the pattern of life. Sensitiveness to the relations of things is indeed one of the surest marks of the truly educated person, In proceeding to discuss "subjects" we are therefore to be taken to refer to a convenient practical division of activities where the main concentration is on one aspect for the time being, but the general background of life and learning is never quite forgotten.⁴⁸

The epistemology on which the recommended approach to the curriculum was based was summed up in the same paragraph:-

The threads that make up the pattern are continuous and interlocked, though they do not always appear on the surface.⁴⁹

This rejection of the "subject" as the fundamental unit of knowledge left the way clear to approach the curriculum of the primary school from a non-traditional point of view. Where traditionalists would regard the absorption of "facts" classified in compartmental "subject" groups as the stuff of education, the committee on primary education took the view that the child's education begins when an understanding of his immediate environment is displayed. Early in the report on primary education it was acknowledged that a major change had taken place since 1872, that the emphasis in the primary school had shifted from merely intellectual training to the development of the whole personality, from passive reception and the memorising of facts to the encouragement of each child to develop by activity and heuristic methods.⁵⁰ This change in emphasis was approved by the committee on primary education, which then went on to recommend a curriculum in which formerly distinct "subjects" would be merged, and a pedagogy based on individual child learning rather than teacher-centred teaching.

The Advisory Council's attitude to subject divisions, implied in the report on citizenship, was first declared unequivocally in the 1946 report on the training of

teachers. Among the qualities required of "the teacher of the future" was the recognition "that the barriers between the artificial compartments of knowledge and activity that we call school subjects must be broken down to some extent at least".⁵¹ This attitude on the part of the teacher was regarded as an essential quality of the new type of teacher, who would also realise that education should take cognisance of the whole child, would reject the notion that education consisted of communicating pre-digested information, and would realise the value of activity and group methods.

So firm was the Council's commitment to the breaking down of barriers between "subjects" that this course was prescribed not only for primary education, where it had already gained some currency, in England if not in Scotland, but for secondary education and the training of teachers. In recommending a course for the training of primary school teachers it was noted

..... While we deal with /topics/ under the customary heads, we would urge that the barriers between subjects should be broken down and that there should be less compartmentalisation of students' studies⁵²

It was suggested that Education and Psychology, for instance, should be combined in the training institutions under a new title, Educational Science, and that where feasible, cognate disciplines should be merged.

Similarly, for the secondary school, it was argued that the very conception of "subjects" in the conventional sense should not be accepted as fundamental,⁵³ and indeed, in the core curriculum recommended for secondary pupils up to School Certificate stage, civics and geography and history were brought together under the heading "Social Studies",⁵⁴ the branches of General Science were not disentangled,⁵⁵ and mathematics, mensuration and arithmetic were classified as "Number and Spatial Relationships".⁵⁶ In the early years of secondary education, it was held, connections across related subjects rather than divisions between them, should be emphasised.

Allied to the notion that, where possible, subject barriers should be broken down in

the secondary school was that the teaching in the junior secondary years should be undertaken mainly by one or two teachers, "whose interests would centre not in specialist studies but in that high and challenging task – the education of ordinary children".⁵⁷ The report on secondary education called for a change in the attitude of honours graduates, who normally trained to become specialist "subject" teachers, encouraging them to follow a "middle way", to be prepared to give half their teaching to their special subjects, and the rest to working on a wider front with a particular class.⁵⁸ It seemed inevitable, at least in the short term, however, that if there were to be a cadre of teachers in secondary schools who would teach across subject boundaries these teachers would be qualified under Article 39.⁵⁹ In the report on the training of teachers, therefore, the Article 39 course, amended to include a General Science component, was retained as a means of providing generalist teaching for the younger pupils in secondary schools.

For the fourth and higher years in secondary schools fully qualified specialists will clearly be needed, But while it is desirable that the instruction in secondary schools should be under the supervision of these specialists, it is not necessary that all the actual teaching of the younger classes should be undertaken by them. The witnesses who gave us their views on this point were unanimously of opinion that the younger secondary pupils tend to be bewildered when they are suddenly transferred from a primary school, where all the instruction is given by one teacher, to a system where every subject is taken by a separate teacher. At this stage, too, it is educationally undesirable that the borderline between the various subjects should be clearly defined, We therefore recommend that the instruction of the younger classes in all secondary courses should be largely in the hands of teachers who are able to teach at least three subjects.⁶⁰

Building on repeated claims that subject barriers should be broken down and that education should be essentially child-centred it was possible for the Advisory Council to argue a place in the secondary school for experimentation on the lines of the Dalton Plan, and the Activity Curriculum, experiments that had not attracted universal or unqualified approval.

THE NEW ORDER IN SCOTTISH EDUCATION

The new order in Scottish education envisaged by the sixth Advisory Council was very different from the old pre-war one. Before the war there had been primary education, generally of a traditional kind, for all, followed by up to two years of more advanced work, or for the more academically able, a course of up to six years of secondary education, normally leading to the professions or to the university. For those leaving school before a full course of secondary education had been taken, part-time continuation classes to the age of 16 or 18 were available in many parts of the country, but there was little incentive in either vocational or financial terms to attend. Provision of technical education was haphazard, varying greatly according to local circumstances, and adult education had not been organised on a national basis.

The published reports of the Advisory Council, if fully implemented, would have re-cast this model on different lines. The Advisory Council prescribed a smooth progress from primary to secondary education, for all. The minimum leaving age would be 15, but a School Certificate of a standard achievable by the majority of pupils would encourage a normative leaving age of 16. A recommended core curriculum and expressed preference for the omnibus school were very important in that they would encourage common experience of schooling in all but the later stages of secondary education, eliminating the rigid division between the junior secondary and senior secondary courses. There would be part-time continuation classes to the age of 18 for those not staying on at secondary school to a sixth year. Underpinning this new educational provision there would be sufficient and fair financial support, organised nationally but provided locally, for all to take advantage of education at an appropriate level without financial hardship. In this new order of education, technical education would be extended, and upgraded considerably. There would be a new emphasis on the physical environment of schools and centres of further education, and teaching methods would be pupil- and topic-centred rather than dictated by traditional disciplines.

To service this enhanced educational provision there would be an expanded and regenerated teaching force, imbued with ideals of professionalism, and encouraged to take a fuller part in determining policy and professional standards than had hitherto been the case. To produce this new type of teacher, and give in-service support, the training institutions would be upgraded in status. The Scottish Education Department would remain firmly at the centre of policy making in Scottish education, but would be assisted in this task by national and regional councils of representatives of interested parties, thereby democratising within the educational constituencies the process of planning and implementing advance.

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12. SED (1944) Adult Education Grants: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 1.
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15. B of E (1938) Adult Education Regulations: England and Wales; HMSO, London.
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17. SED (1939) Circular 116: Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, Sections 4 and 6(1)(b); HMSO, Edinburgh.
18. SED (1944) Education Authority Bursaries: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 7, quoting Circular 116.
19. Ibid; para 7.
20. Ibid; see para 10.
21. Ibid; see paras 11–14.
22. Ibid; see para 16.
23. Ibid; para 21.
24. SED (1946) Technical Education: A Report of a Special Committee of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; Chapter 2.
25. SED (1945) Technical Education (An Interim Report of a Special Committee of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland), op cit; para 9.
26. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmd 7005; para 24.
27. SED (1944) Training for Citizenship: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmd 6405; paras 6 and 7.
28. SED (1943) Compulsory Day Continuation Classes: Fourth Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 45.
29. SED (1946) Training of Teachers: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 239.
30. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 249.
31. Teachers had, in fact, taken part in the marking of the Day School Certificate (Higher), and had also assisted in marking SLC papers during the war, but effective supervision of these examinations remained in the hands of the Department.

32. SED (1946) Primary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmnd 6973; para 4.
33. SED (1944) Teachers: Supply, Recruitment and Training in the Period immediately following the War: Fourth Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; Appendix 1, para 2.
34. Ibid; para 25(1).
35. Ibid; para 16.
36. Ibid; para 19.
37. Ibid; para 15.
38. SED (1946) Training of Teachers: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 84.
39. Ibid; para 91.
40. Ibid; para 199.
41. Ibid; para 194.
42. Ibid; para 216
43. Ibid; para 280.
44. Ibid; para 226.
45. SED (1944) Training for Citizenship: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 43.
46. Ibid; para 35.
47. Ibid; para 38.
48. SED (1946) Primary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 111.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid; para 16.
51. SED (1946) Training of Teachers: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 9.
52. Ibid; para 23.
53. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 73.
54. Ibid; para 96.
55. Ibid; para 95.

56. Ibid; para 93.
57. Ibid; para 132.
58. Ibid; para 134.
59. "Article 39" teachers were usually ordinary graduates, whose own university experience had been of a "general" rather than a "specialist" nature.
60. SED (1946) Training of Teachers: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, op cit; para 97.

Chapter 9

The SED's Responses to the Reports of the sixth Council

In Chapter 6 it was convenient to postulate three phases of activity during the term of office of the sixth Advisory Council. In the first phase the early reports were produced. In the second phase the reports taken into account in the drafting of the Education Bill of 1945 were presented. And in the third phase, the four major reports which were not published until after that Bill became an Act, were completed. The SED's responses to these reports, however, did not fall into such a neat conceptual pattern, generally occurring according to the Department's wider preoccupations. But it is convenient, notwithstanding the Department's impromptu strategy, to discuss its responses in terms of the headings below:-

- 1 Proposed action on first reports submitted.
- 2 Responses to the early reports on teachers.
- 3 Advisory Council reports and the draft Bill.
- 4 The post-Act reports.

PROPOSED ACTION ON FIRST REPORTS SUBMITTED

Of the first set of reports lodged with the SED the one which seemed most amenable to legislative action was that on continuation classes. In the Scottish Estimates debate of 1944, Tom Johnston was able to announce to the Commons what action would be taken on the reports submitted. With regard to continuation classes, he stated

On the subject of compulsory day continuation classes, I can say little in view of the legislation which I hope to introduce this year. I can say little beyond this - that I am in substantial agreement with the recommendations of the Advisory Council.¹

Effectively, what Johnston meant by this was that he had approved the Advisory Council's interim report dated 14th June, in which recommendations had been made relating to amendments to the relevant section of the 1918 Act, and that steps had been taken by the Department to give effect to the Council's recommendations in the forthcoming Bill.² Johnston also approved the main recommendation of the later report on this topic, that young people who had not found employment or who might become unemployed before the age of 18 should be required to attend full-time at junior colleges, when these colleges should be established. Sections 29-31 of the 1945 Act³ sanctioned the recommendations made by the Advisory Council regarding compulsory continuation classes, but the whole scheme hinged on the establishment of junior colleges, and in the acute shortage of labour and building materials immediately after the Second World War, priorities other than education were recognised.⁴ In fact, junior colleges were never built on the national scale envisaged by the Advisory Council, and in the Act of 1949,⁵ the attendance requirements set out in the 1945 Act were repealed.

The report on citizenship fared a little better, even though Johnston's comments in the House as to how the report on citizenship should be dealt with did little to justify the importance that he had attached to that remit. The report did, however, involve the Department in considerable reinforcement of the intent of the Council. Johnston reported that

On citizenship, a memorandum is being prepared now by the Department of Education, and indeed, I believe it has been completed, dealing, point by point, with the recommendations made by the Advisory Council. When this memorandum is received, and I have had time to consider it, I hope to enlist the aid of the local authorities in making considerable experiments of the sort that are proposed by the Advisory Council.⁶

The only legislative action that could be derived from the report on citizenship referred to the attendance of pupils at school and the timetabling of religious education in the school day. Sections 25-28 of the draft Bill⁷ tightened up the

regulations relating to pupils' attendance, and the stipulation that religious education must take place only at the beginning and/or at the end of the school day, was to be repealed.⁸ Beyond making provision for these two legislative measures, the Department also drew to the attention of Subject Panels of Inspectors recommendations which referred particularly to the teaching of individual school subjects in relation to citizenship, and in 1945 it issued a circular for the attention of education authority and other school managers. The circular noted that

..... in view of the lack of any substantial body of practical experience in the field of training for citizenship, there should be a period of active experiment by the schools in order to ascertain what are in practice the most effective methods of training our youth for their responsibilities as citizens.⁹

The Department did not in its circular of 1945 commend all of the detailed recommendations of the Advisory Council report to schools. It did not, for example, advise that the formal teaching of Civics might be undertaken in the year immediately preceding the statutory leaving age. But merely to issue the circular was not the last word on citizenship. In the course of 1948 a series of conferences were held under the auspices of the SED for teachers who had conducted experiments in teaching for citizenship, to pool and disseminate their ideas. The SED Annual Report for 1948 records that

Thirty-seven conferences in all were held, seven, under the chairmanship of H M Chief Inspectors, being attended by some 800 teachers from secondary schools, and thirty, under the chairmanship of H M Inspectors in charge of Districts, by some 3050 teachers from primary schools. Representatives of Education Authorities and of the managers of other grant-aided schools were also present at most of the conferences.¹⁰

A report on these conferences was issued in 1950 under the title of "Young Citizens at School".¹¹

RESPONSES TO THE EARLY REPORTS ON TEACHERS

In the parliamentary debate announcing the measures to be taken on the early reports of the Advisory Council, Johnston stated that he regarded the supply of teachers as "the keystone of the whole educational arch".¹² He then went on to commend the Advisory Council's analysis of the teacher supply situation, and added that he had accepted the recommendation of the Council that teachers' salaries and conditions should be improved. To that end the Advisory Council's report had been forwarded to the newly constituted National Joint Council of local authorities and teachers' organisations under the chairmanship of Lord Teviot. In his speech, Johnston also referred to the Selection Board recommended by the Council, stating that

This Selection Board should be constituted by the Central Executive Committee for the training of teachers, and should consist of five persons from their number, one representative from the Directors of Education, the Directors of Studies of the four training centres and the Executive Officer of the National Committee. This Selection Board would have power to deal with applications from men and women now being released from the Services.¹³

In response to the Department's forwarding the report to the Joint National Committee, that committee recommended that standard national scales for salaries for teachers ought to be substituted for minimum national scales. That recommendation was written into the Bill.¹⁴

The matter of the Selection Board, however, was a much more protracted affair. The SED's Annual Report of 1944 drew attention to the fact that the Board had been set up, and had held its first meeting in November of that year,

..... and by the end of that year was making good progress with the interviewing and selection of substantial numbers of applicants.¹⁵

In the scheme originally proposed by the Advisory Council it had been envisaged that there would be four Provincial Selection Boards, based on the four centres of teacher training, and that their procedures would be co-ordinated by a Central Board. In fact,

the Central Board coped with all the applicants until March, 1945, but with the end of the war in sight, and a fuller flow of applicants expected, the Provincial Boards began work in the spring of 1945. In that year the new regulations¹⁶ which authorised the National Committee to provide emergency courses of training for teaching, as recommended by the Advisory Council, were made, but were never required to be implemented as the supply of trained teachers coming through the Emergency Scheme as well as the usual channels was adjudged to be adequate. When demobilisation from the Services was at its height in 1946, the Department sent interviewing boards to Germany, the Middle East, India and the Far East, where they interviewed Service applicants. The Scheme was not finally brought to an end until November, 1949, but by 1947 there were sufficient students in training at Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh to allow these Provincial Boards to cease functioning. The Glasgow Board was retained until June, 1949, and between June and November of that year exceptional applications were dealt with by the Central Board. In all, between 1944 and 1949 the Boards dealt with a total of some 13500 candidates, of whom almost 4500 were successful in their applications.

ADVISORY COUNCIL REPORTS AND THE DRAFT BILL

The Advisory Council's report on the financially complex subject of Education Authority Bursaries can be reduced to two main points:- (1) that while it should continue to be a function of education authorities to award bursaries, in the exercise of that function they should be more closely controlled by the Secretary of State; and (2) that the Secretary of State should be given statutory power to award bursaries. In coming to these conclusions, the committee dealing with that remit had been greatly influenced by the position as it would be in England when the English Bill of 1944 became law. The terms of the 1944 Act, as well as permitting the Minister of Education to make national awards, made the distribution of local authority bursaries much more equitable than in Scotland,¹⁷ where Section 4 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, had been found wanting.¹⁸ Accordingly, the Council had advised that what

was to become practice in England should be adapted to Scottish conditions.

These main recommendations were readily accepted by the SED, which had independently come to the conclusion that equality of educational opportunity as effected by the bursary system in Scotland, fell well short of the ideal.¹⁹ Scottish legislation, therefore, was to be made to match that of England. To that end, Sections 32–35 of the Scottish Bill set out a range of measures designed to create a fairer system for the award of bursaries, ordaining conditions similar to those applying in England.²⁰ Section 59(b) empowered the Secretary of State for Scotland to make awards.²¹ What proved to be the most effective measure, however, was that which empowered the Secretary of State to make regulations for the award of bursaries. The Education Authority Bursaries (Scotland) Regulations of 1947²² was the administrative consequence of that provision, and these regulations ensured the Secretary of State's oversight of, and power of adjudication in, authorities' disbursement of bursaries. "Education in Scotland in 1953" gave the following brief statement as to the effect that the Advisory Council's report eventually had.

In accordance with the Advisory Council's recommendations, the Regulations were framed with the particular object of securing that awards were adequate in amount and that the method of assessing need and the conditions of award were as far as possible uniform throughout the country.²³

The recommendations of the report on adult education grants referred mainly to the measures that might be taken to promote adult education throughout the country. Specifically, they were that it should be made the duty of every education authority to prepare a scheme for adult education in its area, and that Regional Councils, based on the universities, and made up of representatives of interested groups, should advise on the preparation of these schemes. To maintain national oversight it was recommended that a Scottish Adult Education Council, a national council, be set up, composed mainly of representatives of Regional Councils. With regard to expenditure

on adult education, the Council's recommendation was that subsidy from the Education (Scotland) Fund be paid to education authorities on a percentage rather than a block grant basis.

In framing the draft Bill the SED defined "further education" in such a way as to include adult education,²⁴ to make it the duty of every education authority to submit a scheme of further education for SED approval, and to secure that adequate and sufficient provision be made for all forms of further education. The elaborate scheme for Regional Councils and a National Council were not, however, to be supported by statute, the draft Bill requiring no more than that in preparing their schemes for further education, authorities should have regard to any facilities for such education provided by universities, educational associations and other bodies, and to consult with such organisations. No compulsion, however, was imposed on them that they should do so.

The matter of level of grant was dealt with by the Grant Regulation Minute, a Statutory Instrument, rather than by new legislation. Circular 6 of 1945 was sent out enclosing a first draft of the 1945 regulations. The circular indicated that a sum of .6 million pounds would be applied to, "contributions of Authorities to Central Institutions, Regional Advisory Committees for Technical and Adult Education"²⁵ among other things. Later that year, however, when it was discovered that there would be .5 million pounds more in the Education (Scotland) Fund than had originally been anticipated,²⁶ the regulations were revised to allow a percentage grant of 75% from central funds for

Payments (including payments in respect of travelling or personal expenses) made to teachers, lecturers, instructors or organisers in respect of teaching or other service in connection with classes conducted by the Education Authority under the Code of Regulations for Continuation Classes in Scotland, 1936, as amended,, or the Adult Education (Scotland) Regulations, as amended.²⁷

With regard to the reports discussed above, therefore, it can be seen that Government took positive action on all of them. In this campaign of positive action, the measures taken on the report on continuation classes were probably the least effective, depending as they did to such a great extent on matters ultimately outwith the Department's control. The expectation in the later years of the war was that continuation education to the age of 18 would be compulsory, and it could not have been foreseen that by 1949 Britain's economic position would be such that the attendance requirements of the 1945 Act would be dropped. On citizenship, the statutory powers of the Department were also limited. Johnston's own comment was

I had a bad flop over the teaching of Citizenship in the schools. Despite backing from the Council of State – and especially Lord Alness – I failed to make any serious headway in importing to our school system what I thought was, or ought to be, the first necessity of all education, a culture of good citizenship.²⁸

His analysis of the situation was that

..... we produced a splendid pamphlet on the subject; but the polite, although obviously reluctant, acquiescence, and then do-nothings, and the Petronella dance-like side-stepping of the pundits filled me with foreboding that we were not going to break far into the existing codes.²⁹

And the question as to whether the Department was doing all in its power to promote the teaching of citizenship in schools or merely conducting an elaborate charade remains an open one. In the matter of the Department's response to the report on adult education grants there is certainly evidence to suggest that full approval was not accorded the Advisory Council's proposals. Mackay Thomson was not enamoured of the suggestion that there should be National and Regional Councils on adult education,³⁰ and the level of grant subsidy of 75% only came about as a result of a windfall from the Treasury under the Goschen formula.³¹

The two remaining reports, on the other hand, dealing with the recruitment and training of teachers in the period immediately following the war, and the conditions

applying to the award of bursaries by local authorities, were embraced warmly by the Department. The Emergency Scheme to bring the teacher force up to strength was based firmly on the Advisory Council's analysis of the war-time situation, and the selection boards were set up in accordance with the Advisory Council's advice. (It must, however, be noted that in this, the Department was simply matching the initiative of the new Ministry of Education in England). Nor was there any difficulty experienced on the Department's part in incorporating the recommendations of the committee on bursaries to the appropriate section of the Act, or in drafting consequential regulations. All of this is in sharp contrast to the responses later made to the major reports, except perhaps that dealing with technical education.

THE POST-ACT REPORTS

Technical Education

The interim report of the Special Committee on Technical Education was a brief document which set down some of the conclusions which would later reappear in the committee's final report. Like the report on adult education grants, it was, in essence, a plea for the expansion of the area of education to which the remit referred, and a set of recommendations as to how that end might be achieved. The basis of the scheme proposed was that there should be three main groups of institutions beyond the secondary stage of schooling, in which technical education should take place – Central Institutions, Technical Colleges, and Continuation Classes. Central Institutions would serve a region or, regarding certain subjects, the whole of Scotland, and provide day and evening courses of the most advanced type. At a lower level, technical colleges, serving local requirements, would also provide day and evening courses, and within the proposed scheme of continuation education generally expected in the post-war period, there would be provision of technical education either in colleges specialising in these subjects, or in other non-technical institutions. Fundamental to the promotion of technical education, as the committee saw it, was a

provision in the forthcoming Bill that Scottish education authorities should be put under an obligation, as authorities in England and Wales had been by the Education Act of 1944, to "secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education"³² including technical education. To take oversight of this new development, the Special Committee recommended that Regional Advisory Councils and a National Advisory Council should be constituted, the National Advisory Council to be commissioned to conduct a survey of national requirements in technical education and research, and co-ordinate the work of the Regional Advisory Committees. The final, full version of the report was not completed until early 1946, and although it was much more comprehensive in its review of the contemporary position than the interim report had been, it did not add anything in terms of significant recommendations. It is, therefore, convenient to treat the SED's response to the two reports together.

The interim report was submitted to the Secretary of State in October, 1944, against the advice of Grainger Stewart, Secretary of the Advisory Council, who stated at the meeting of 4th October that the draft Education Bill had already been submitted to the Cabinet Committee and had been approved by them.³³ Apparently, it was now too late to adjust the contents of the Bill. In spite of Grainger Stewart's advice, the Special Committee submitted its report, only to discover, as Grainger Stewart had indicated, that in the Education (Scotland) Bill as presented to Parliament for a first reading, there was no reference to provision for technical education on the particular lines recommended by the Advisory Council.

The perceived omissions from the Bill were referred to at the meeting of the Special Committee held on 19th March, 1945, at which it was agreed that Cameron Smail should prepare a memorandum for the Secretary of State explaining the Special Committee's objections to the Bill as it stood.³⁴ Shortly after this meeting had been held, however, and before Cameron Smail's proposed memorandum to the Secretary of State had been drafted, one of the members of the Special Committee, Sir Steven Bilsland, informed Johnston of the Committee's dissatisfaction with the Bill, and this

led Mackay Thomson to draft a pointed letter to be issued in Johnston's name.³⁵ In that letter, Mackay Thomson drew attention to the fact that most of the recommendations made by the Special Committee, including those for the provision of local technical colleges and for the establishment of Regional and National Advisory Councils on Technical Education, did not require legislation. He referred to Section 1(1) of the Bill, which made it the duty of every education authority to secure that adequate and efficient provision be made throughout their area for all forms of further education, and went on to cite subsequent sections³⁶ as being compatible with the Special Committee's recommendations. With regard to the setting up of Regional Councils and a National Council, however, Mackay Thomson protested that there were so many committees in existence or already recommended by the Advisory Council that the danger of their trespassing on each other's areas of interest was a very real one. He set out his remedy for Bilsland in these terms:-

After careful consideration of all the circumstances I came to the conclusion that all standing advisory councils or committees in the field of education should be brought within the organisation of the Advisory Council on Education, which would then have a new co-ordinating function of seeing that the advice tendered by committees on special branches of education was not inconsistent with the general educational plan for Scotland. In order to remove any doubts as to the competency of this course and to give statutory authority for special committees of the Advisory Council I included in the Bill the amendment of section 20 of the Act of 1918 which appears on page 73, line 40. This amendment is drafted in terms wide enough to cover the councils and committees which already exist or have been recommended by the Advisory Council and any other committees which may in future be required.³⁷

It is certainly the case that Mackay Thomson felt that the proliferation of committees was becoming counter-productive. At a meeting of Heads of Departments at St Andrew's House on 12th December, 1944, he had made his position clear

..... Mr Mackay Thomson said that one of his chief concerns was the persistence with which the Advisory Council recommended the setting up of Central and Local Councils for the administration of projects on which it had reported, such as Adult Education. Junior Colleges, Technical Education and Bursaries.³⁸

And there had indeed been in the course of the Advisory Council's term of office

misunderstandings between the Youth Advisory Committee and the Advisory Council.³⁹

In spite of Mackay Thomson's protests, however, and notwithstanding that his letter had been sent under Johnston's signature, the Special Committee determined that it should press its recommendations, and at the meeting of 26th April, Cameron Smail pointed out that a note had been received from the Secretary of State inviting the Advisory Council to comment on the Education (Scotland) Bill.⁴⁰ He suggested that that invitation gave the opportunity for appropriate action to be taken, and that rather than send the memorandum he had drafted it would be better to approach the Secretary of State with the backing of the full Advisory Council. At the meeting of the Council the very next day, Cameron Smail was supported.⁴¹ The Council agreed that in the matter of a National Council, the amendment proposed to Section 20 of the 1918 Act would be sufficient, but that adjustments should be made to the Bill to provide for junior colleges and for the lower tier of councils proposed.

The outcome of this vigorous lobbying was reported at the meeting of the Special Committee held on 4th June. Davidson, the Assistant Secretary to the Council made it known that at the Committee stage

..... paragraph (c) of subsection 7 of section 2 of the Bill had been amended on a Government motion to read :- "In the preparation of any Scheme for further education an Education Authority shall have regard to such of the following considerations as may be relevant - to the need for securing the adequate provision of technical education and keeping in view the requirements of the crafts, industries, commerce and other employments in the area and the provision thereof made elsewhere to the need for the establishment of local technical colleges offering courses on suitable standard". An amendment has also been secured to enable the Secretary of State after consultation with Education Authorities and other persons interested by order to establish a Regional Advisory Council for any branch of education to advise the Education Authorities and other managers of schools, junior colleges and other educational establishments in the region.⁴²

In spite of Mackay Thomson's protests, therefore, the Special Committee had succeeded in having the main recommendations of their interim report made quite

explicit in the Bill.

As has been noted earlier, however, the scheme for the creation of a network of local junior colleges was not fully developed, mainly because other sectors of public expenditure, and other sectors of educational expenditure, were seen to be of greater immediate importance. The inclusion of a statutory basis for Regional Councils, on the other hand, was taken up to some effect. The SED Annual Report of 1952 devotes a considerable section to describing how technical and further education had developed, noting that in 1949 the Secretary of State had set up "on the advice of the Advisory Council"⁴³ five Regional Advisory Councils for Technical Education (including one for the Highlands). Their achievement was described as

..... /having/ done valuable work in examining various aspects of technical education in their regions and /having/ issued useful memoranda and reports on a wide variety of topics.⁴⁴

The Regional Councils, acting together with joint committees in some regions, were given credit for providing a smooth career course for the pupil whose bent was technical rather than academic. The same report notes that

The advisory machinery of the Regional Advisory Councils and the executive machinery of the joint committees afforded the means of co-ordination between the elementary and advanced types of establishment and the courses they provide. A ladder is thus provided by which every student with sufficient ability can climb from his early studies at a local centre to the most advanced studies at a central institution.⁴⁵

Although not implemented in full, it can be seen that certain aspects of the sixth Advisory Council's reports on technical education were taken up and used in the Department's developing policy for alternatives to strictly academic courses in the later stages of education.

The Training of Teachers

The shortage of teachers in the immediate post-war period, and concentration on

remedying the deficit by means of the Emergency Scheme, precluded any serious consideration of the Advisory Council's final report on the training of teachers. By 1949, however, the problem of insufficient teachers appeared to have been more or less reduced to manageable proportions, and the Emergency Regulations were revoked that year. But the apparent sufficiency of teachers proved illusory, and in 1950 it was discovered that a careful and fundamental reassessment of the whole staffing position was needed. To perform that task, the SED appointed a small Office Committee made up of two Directors of Education and a representative of the EIS as well as two Departmental officials and the Executive Officer of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers. The first report of this ad hoc committee, made in 1951,⁴⁶ revealed how serious the shortage of teachers was likely to be for a number of years, and as a consequence of this report, the Special Recruitment Scheme was started, with the object of encouraging mature people in other occupations to take up teacher training.

It had been accepted by McClelland's Advisory Council committee, and was also admitted by the SED in 1950 that to bring the ideals of the report on the training of teachers to bear on the practice of the training centres would be a gradual process, but some optimism had been expressed in 1949. The Annual Report of the Department for that year noted that a start had been made to reviewing the Advisory Council's proposals. Approval in principle had been accorded to the first 100 paragraphs of the Advisory Council's report, but recommendations referring to the lengthening of courses had not been supported. Although the tone of the 1949 comment seemed encouraging, it offered only approval, and cautious approval at that, of recommendations unrelated to the lengthening of courses. This was ominous as the lengthening of courses and upgrading the status of the training establishments were the two central pillars of the Advisory Council's report.

The crisis caused by the shortage of teachers, and recognised as a serious one by the Office Committee in 1951 effectively deferred any follow-up work on the Advisory

Council's report until 1956, when it was announced by the SED that the long-awaited review of the teacher training system would take place in two stages. First there would be a revision of the regulations dealing with the constitution and functions of bodies administering the training system. When this was completed there would be an overhaul of the regulations which dealt with the practice of the institutions, the actual training of teachers.

During 1957, consultations were held with a number of interested parties with a view to collating their opinions on the administrative constitution of the training centres, and in 1958, the first part of the review of the training system was presented in the form of the new regulations.⁴⁷ The main changes effected by these regulations gave the individual centres, renamed Colleges of Education, greater autonomy, Provincial Committees, which until then had been responsible for control of the institutions, being replaced by governing bodies made up of individuals and representatives of groups interested in education. These governing bodies were constituted as corporations, which gave them the statutory right to independent action. The SED's annual Report of 1958 explains in some detail the old system and the new.

At present, each training college is managed by a Provincial Committee or a Committee of Management which is responsible to the National Committee for the Training of Teachers. Decisions taken by these college committees are subject to approval in detail by the Central Executive Committee of the National Committee, over which in turn the Secretary of State has general oversight.

Under the new system, seven new governing bodies are instituted, each of which will take over from the training colleges – in future to be called colleges of education – from its present management The direct control of each college will be in the hands of the principal, who will be responsible to the governing body for organisation and discipline, including admission and expulsion of students⁴⁸

Under the new regulations there was to be a central body, the Scottish Council for the Training of Teachers to replace the National Committee and its Central Executive Committee, which hitherto had exercised almost absolute control of the training system. Made up of representatives of each college's governing body, the new

Council's function was to be advisory, negotiating rather than prescribing common policy across the colleges, and consulting with the Secretary of State. To advise college principals on academic matters generally, Boards of Studies, composed of college staff, were constituted.

The second part of the review of the teacher training system did not come to fruition until 1965, although the 1931 Regulations were updated in 1962,⁴⁹ with a view to consolidating amendments at a later date. Delay in the early '60s was attributed to the expectation that the Robbins Report might make recommendations relevant to the training of teachers. When published in 1963, the Robbins Report⁵⁰ recommended that there should be four-year degree courses, the degree to be awarded by universities, together with the professional qualification of the college, for suitable students. When the long-awaited new version of the regulations⁵¹ appeared, they prescribed three types of certificate, the Teacher's Certificate (Primary Education) to be awarded on the successful completion of a three-year course of professional and general education; the Teacher's Certificate (Secondary Education) and the Teacher's Certificate (Further Education), both to be awarded on the successful completion of a one-year post-graduate professional preparation. Robbins advice was reflected in the Teachers (Education) Regulations⁵² of that year which enabled recognition for certificate purposes to be given to a new four-year Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree which combined both general education at a university standard and professional training.

Even when belatedly completed, the review of the training system which had been prompted by the Advisory Council's report, had not resulted in teacher training being rendered the status that the Advisory Council had claimed and foreseen for it. With the exception of the Robbins-inspired BEd degree, which attracted only a small minority of the new Colleges' students, the maximum course duration was limited to three years. As for the prestigious Institutes of Education envisaged by the Council, with heads of departments having the title and status of professor, and the Institutes becoming centres of excellence for educational research, what eventually was

delivered was a pale image of the vision. The new constitutions of 1958 certainly gave the colleges greater autonomy, but they did not make them the independent university colleges that the Council had modelled their proposals on.

Commenting on the Department's response to this report, a former Under Secretary who had been in charge of teacher training in the post-war period, drew attention to the fact that consultations had taken place with interested parties as to how the training system might be developed. He commented

My memory is that all or almost all bodies consulted agreed on the same fundamental criticism. The Report aggrandised the Training Colleges to the extent that they became virtually universities, with professors at the head of all their Departments. The critical bodies agreed that the prestige of the colleges should be increased but agreed and emphasised that no attempt should be made to raise them to the status of universities. The reasons were that the universities would be wholly opposed this; and Scottish opinion was too proud of the universities to create rival (though inferior) institutions.⁵³

This assessment of contemporary public opinion is a personal one and is open to question. It is clear, however, that whatever public opinion might have been, the Department was opposed to upgrading the training centres to the status that McClelland had sought for them, and when the time came for reform of these institutions it was based on principles other than those recommended by the Advisory Council.

Primary Education

About a year after the Advisory Council's report on primary education was published, the SED issued a circular commending the report in general terms to education authorities.⁵⁴ This circular drew attention to recommendations made by the Council which it was within the Department's power to take action upon, and those which were addressed to education authorities and teachers. The Department's Annual Report for 1947 summarised the administrative recommendations that the Secretary of State had accepted and was empowered to sanction.

Recommendations of which the Secretary intimated his acceptance were those relating to the combination, by way of experiment, of nursery and infant schools; to the promotion of pupils from primary to secondary education; to the provision of financial assistance for educational research; and to the publication of a series of memoranda on various aspects of primary education prepared by a panel of HM Inspectors of schools.⁵⁵

The circular and Annual Report also made clear that the Secretary of State could not in the meantime, owing to shortages of school buildings and of teachers, take action to reduce the maximum size of primary school classes to 30 pupils, as the Council had recommended, but that he intended "as soon as conditions warranted"⁵⁶ to prescribe 40 as the maximum in the Day Schools (Scotland) Code.

In the main, however, Circular 122 warmly embraced many of the principles underlying the Advisory Council's report, approving the recurring themes that education must take account of the whole personality and individuality of the child, and that passive receptivity in primary schools ought to be replaced by purposeful activity. Various other specific recommendations were also approved in the circular. Particular attention ought to be given to

..... the supreme importance of the cultivation of good spoken English; to the need for ensuring that the correction of pupils' work takes a constructive form that will be helpful to them; to the necessity of enabling all pupils, whatever their degrees of intelligence, to progress at the pace appropriate to their several capacities; and to the importance of giving a proper place to the study of Scottish traditions, with a view to preserving what is distinctive and of value in Scottish life and culture.⁵⁷

When the memoranda produced by the panels of Inspectors were published, however, in one volume in 1950, they undercut to some extent the wholehearted approval that had been conferred by Circular 122.⁵⁸ Scotland draws attention to the fact that while the 1950 publication expressed a debt to the Advisory Council's report, including its emphasis on speech, handwork and physical education as the basis of the primary school curriculum, in its own prescribed curriculum the Inspectors' report had clung fondly to the three Rs.

At the age of six the child, it was here recommended, should spend between twelve hours out of seventeen and a half in a school week on the three Rs, at eight, thirteen and a quarter out of twenty-two and a half, at eleven, twelve and three-quarters out of twenty-two and a half. Of these times arithmetic was to occupy three, four and four hours.⁵⁹

And for all its apparently liberal approach to the need for flexibility in the timetable, and that "subjects" should not be treated in isolation from each other, the 1950 booklet was yet concerned that traditional and administrative priorities should not be abandoned. The endeavour to advocate a fresh approach to primary education while at the same time conserving an older tradition led the Inspectorate into apparently contradictory positions. With regard to the timetable, for instance, the advice offered was that "/It/ should be regarded not as rigidly controlling the school day but rather as a means of maintaining a proper balance between the various activities".⁶⁰ Teachers were therefore advised to feel at liberty to depart from the formal timetable, but only for "special purposes" and with "the sanction of the head teacher". Moreover,

These departures should be noted in the record of work and steps should be taken at an early date to make good any time taken from a particular subject. Major deviations should be entered by the head teacher in the log-book.⁶¹

The essence of the Advisory Council's recommendations on the curriculum, that there should be a less rigid approach to the teaching of the primary school pupil, was seriously impaired by the conditions appended to the SED's exhortation to treat the timetable as "a means of maintaining a proper balance between the various activities".⁶²

The publication of the report "Primary Education" had put the Department in an untenable position. Although claiming considerable inspiration and input from HMI memoranda, the Advisory Council's report had not reflected the Inspectorate's emphasis on a traditional curriculum based on the three R's. Moreover, the Council had interpreted the Inspector's limited approval of "progressive" methods as more enthusiastic than it had in fact been. On the publication of Ritchie's report, the

Department had commended it in general terms in Circular 122. On the publication of its own 1950 Memorandum, however, the difference in emphasis between the Inspectors' cautious approach, and the rather more adventurous one advocated by the Advisory Council became clear, and substantive policy after 1950 followed the lines of the Memorandum rather than those recommended by the Advisory Council.

Secondary Education

When reports of the Advisory Council were submitted to the Department, the normal procedure was for them to be considered by the branch mainly concerned with the terms of reference before being forwarded, through the appropriate Assistant Secretary, to the Under Secretary or the Secretary of the Department himself. Branches were expected to comment on the recommendations of reports and to indicate what action might be taken. This procedure worked well enough with the early, shorter reports, but the later ones did not always prove suitable for this form of treatment. With regard to the report of the committee on secondary education the unusual step was taken of submitting it to the scrutiny of a committee made up of members of the Secretariat and HM Inspectors.⁶³ This committee first met on 9th June, 1947, under the chairmanship of William Arbuckle, then Under Secretary of the Department, but before that meeting took place there had been some correspondence within the Department which had a bearing on the attitudes to the report. In a note to Arbuckle, Mackay Thomson had stated,

..... we must not forget the possibility that we may be forced to set up an "Advisory Examination Council", and a "panel of practising teachers for each subject - a grim and formidable prospect⁶⁴

The Secretary's opposition was based on the fact that the Department would be required to second staff to this Council rather than on grounds of the possible unsuitability of the Council as an examining authority. Expressing a more fundamental objection to the Council's proposals on examinations was H M Senior Chief Inspector Watson's letter to Arbuckle. Watson stated

If we commit ourselves to this /the School Certificate/ examination and its procedure, we commit ourselves to the principle that the teachers concerned are virtually infallible in their order of merit (though admitted to be fallible enough in grading and standard). This alleged feat borders on the miraculous.⁶⁵

Early indications that the report would not receive the wholehearted approval of the committee were confirmed at its second meeting. At the first meeting of the committee the early chapters of the report had been dealt with rather cursorily, but at the second meeting, more detailed attention was focused on Chapter VIII of the report, "Examinations and Certificates".⁶⁶ In the view of the committee, the contrast between the internal and the external examination was too sharply drawn, and external examinations found more sympathy from the Departmental Committee than the Advisory Council had shown them. With regard to the Advisory Council's contention that teachers could be relied upon to arrange their pupils in an accurate order of merit, Arbuckle's Committee concluded that

The experience of the Department,, in the conduct of the Leaving Certificate Examination did not bear out the claim that the teacher's order of merit is always correct, and since this is the foundation on which the whole of the examination structure is based, the validity of their conclusion was seriously shaken.⁶⁷

Maintaining their sceptical approach, the committee looked upon all that the Advisory Council had proposed on the topic of examinations and certificates in a "merely exploratory" manner. Further scepticism towards the Advisory Council's recommendations on the examination system was encouraged by the assumption on the committee's part that the Council had based their recommendations on a leaving age of 16 being effected in the near future. This had not, in fact, been the case, but the assumption helped to compound the notion that the Advisory Council's conclusions had been based on false premises. Expressing their own belief that the raising of the school leaving age to 16 would be deferred for a number of years, the committee determined that "the question of certificates had accordingly to be

considered as a matter of interim policy, in relation to a school leaving age of 15".⁶⁸

Having argued themselves into this position, and taking Watson's note to Arbuckle into account, the committee expressed their conclusions as below:-

(a) The Department should not accept the recommendations regarding the conduct of examinations for the School Certificate, as they would be nominally responsible for the certificate while retaining no real control over either examination policy or the maintenance of standards.

(b) The Department could not itself undertake to conduct twice yearly a School Certificate examination on the lines of the present Senior Leaving Certificate.

(c) The alternative appeared to be either (1) to retain the present Senior Leaving Certificate examination, with such modifications as might be considered desirable, or (2) retain control of the Higher Certificate examination and commit the responsibility for the School Certificate examination to an independent examination board. The risk attending this last course was that the Department, as a result of no longer controlling the examination which the great majority of pupils would take, would largely lose effective control of the curriculum of most pupils under 16, which might come in practice to be dictated by the examination board.⁶⁹

Of one thing, the committee was certain regarding any national examination that the majority of pupils would sit and the Department would be expected to endorse, there could be no internally assessed component. Yet, paradoxically, it was recognised that the Department did not have the manpower resources to conduct an examination on such a scale without "outside" assistance. The logic of this situation was that either the Department would be required to co-operate in some way or other with the schools in the management of assessment at this stage if it was to retain an interest in the certificate, and therefore in the curriculum, or it must abandon a regulating interest in this certificate entirely. With regard to the examination structure, the committee was less sure of its ground, leaving open the question of whether there ought to be certification at ages 15 and 17 or at ages 16 and 18.

Acting independently of the office committee, but keeping in close touch with it, Mackay Thomson was also applying himself to a consideration of the future of the examination system for pupils of secondary schools. Like the committee, he declared

that he was inclined to think in terms of both an interim, or short-term policy, and a long-term policy, "the latter to wait until there is some certainty as to when the school leaving age will be raised to 16".⁷⁰ In fact, his main concern was not to develop a long-term policy, rather to effect changes in the existing system which would "keep our critics at bay for some years yet".⁷¹ He could see little merit in the Advisory Council's proposed structure, noting that

..... it seems to me that the scheme of certificates suggested by the Advisory Council is more appropriate for a school leaving-age of 16 than 15.⁷²

He was, however, prepared to concur with the Advisory Council in advocating a school "record" being issued to the 15 year old school leaver by the head teacher. In his view, such a "record", particularly should it include comments on the pupil's involvement in the corporate life of the school, as well as noting his academic achievements, would be much more useful to prospective employers than the Junior Leaving Certificate, which had been in suspension since the outbreak of war, and which he had no desire to see revived.

Having accepted the principle of a leaver's "record", the remainder of Mackay Thomson's proposed scheme was based firmly on the retention of the SLC on two grades, the Higher and the Lower, both of which were currently restricted to pupils in their fifth year. What he favoured was a relaxation of the strict regulations governing the award of the Leaving Certificate. His scheme would make it possible for pupils to gain a certificate on leaving at the end of the fourth year, as well as gain one on leaving at the end of the fifth or sixth year of secondary education. The relaxation of the regulations would also ensure that the partly-successful fifth year leaver (who had passed some subjects in the SLC but had failed others) would be given credit for the subjects in which he had passed. Mackay Thomson did not go so far, however, as suggest complete "de-grouping" of the SLC course, always maintaining that courses should be approved by the Department, and that examination presentations should be

in an approved group. The concession that he was offering the fifth year pupil was that passes in individual subjects would be recognised and not forfeited as had formerly been the case when all the subjects in the "group" had not been passed.

As Mackay Thomson saw it, the advantages that would result from the adoption of his scheme would be these :-

(a) No pupil would leave school without "something to show for it"; even those pupils who fail to pass in any subject would have their "record", and those who pass in one or more would have their "certificate" as well.

(b) No wholesale recasting of syllabuses or schemes of work would be necessary: the changes could be brought quickly into effect.

(c) We would be offering - though not in name - something very like a "School Certificate" in the fourth year as well as a Senior Leaving Certificate in the fifth or subsequent years.

(d) The cost in staff (office and Inspectorate) and in printing would be vastly less formidable than the cost entailed by acceptance of the Advisory Council's scheme for two School Certificate and one Higher Certificate examinations in each year.

(e) No complications that I can foresee would arise with the Scottish Universities Entrance Board; they would continue to accept passes in individual subjects, and to use our papers for their Spring Prelim.⁷³

Essentially, what he was proposing was a compromise, an adaptation of a system of certification designed to meet the needs of secondary schooling which fell naturally into two sections, 12-15 and 15-17, to take into account a less clear-cut pattern of school leaving, and the need articulated by the Advisory Council, for greater flexibility in the award of certificates.

Mackay Thomson's minute was taken as the starting point of the Departmental committee's next meeting⁷⁴ At that meeting, approval was given the suggestion that all 15 year old leavers should be given a "record", but the committee was unwilling to accept the principle that fourth year leavers should be given a certificate, arguing that such an award would make it very difficult to provide properly rounded-off courses. They preferred that the fourth year leaver should have any Lower passes gained

endorsed on his "record", thereby classifying him with "record" holders rather than certificate holders, in spite of the fact that he had passed "certificate examinations". The committee further disagreed with Mackay Thomson in recommending a minimum of two Highers and a Lower to be gained by the fifth year pupil before the award of a certificate should be made. Apart from agreeing with the Secretary on the "record" proposal, the committee was markedly more conservative than Mackay Thomson, advocating the retention of a minimum "group" for the award of the SLC, and denying national certification to all but the most successful fifth and sixth year pupils.

Between the third meeting of the committee and its fourth meeting, which took place in October, Mackay Thomson sent three minutes to Arbuckle,⁷⁵ each commenting on either recommendations made by the Advisory Council, or on the Departmental committee's deliberations. In the first of these minutes he pointed out that he had received assurance that Government intentions to raise the school leaving age to 16 in the near future had been virtually abandoned, and that the committee might reconsider its decision against the award of the SLC to fourth year school leavers and on other than a group basis. He also requested the committee's opinion on the Advisory Council's proposal that an Advisory Examinations Council be set up. His most immediate concern, however, in spite of his claim that he did not wish to influence the committee, was to offer criticism of their decision not to award a fourth year certificate nor to "de-group" the award of the fifth year SLC. He referred to two sources in pointing out what he regarded as the committee's mistakes, proposed changes for England to the original Norwood scheme⁷⁶ to allow for a certificate at 16 on a de-grouped basis, and a "Scotsman" leader which favoured in Scotland a system similar to that now proposed for England,⁷⁷ which would result in an examination

..... elastic enough both to provide a record of achievements for those completing their education and to indicate whether those who seek entrance to the universities have reached the necessary standards

.....⁷⁸

Mackay Thomson expressed awareness that it mattered not at all, in terms of the

work done by the pupil, and certified as having been done by him, whether an endorsed record or a certificate was awarded, his concern was that there should be a degree of uniformity between regulations in Scotland and those South of the Border. His inclination was to favour, where any reasonable standard of academic performance was required, the award of a certificate rather than a record of work.

Unless the professional bodies can be induced to recognise in respect of Scottish aspirants a "Record" instead of a "Certificate", your Committee's scheme would, I fear, be doomed.⁷⁹

In one other matter, also, Mackay Thomson had an apparently more liberal attitude than the Departmental committee. He had conceded that in order to meet in some measure both the recommendations of the Advisory Council regarding the standard of the School Certificate and developments in England, an easing of the standard of the Lower grade was required. Arbuckle's committee had deferred discussion on that matter.

The October meeting of the committee was given over almost entirely to considering the requests and counter proposals advanced by Mackay Thomson.⁸⁰ His minute of 27th August had asked for responses to the Advisory Council's advice regarding the setting up of an Advisory Examinations Council, and had urged reconsideration of their decision regarding an endorsed "record" rather than a certificate being awarded to fourth year leavers who had gained passes in "Lowers". On the matter of the Advisory Examinations Council, the committee "reaffirmed their opinion that the Secretary of State should be advised to reject the recommendations for the institution of (1) an Advisory Examination Council and (2) Panels of practising teachers".⁸¹ Their reasons for their conclusions were based mainly on the now apparent certainty that the 3-5 years organisation would be retained, and that the SLC examinations could be modified and adapted to be made more flexible, yet still come under the direct control of the Department. In support of their general conclusion the committee also argued that interested parties (professions) on the Examinations Council might have an

influence which would distort the curriculum, and that the teachers who had assisted in marking SLC scripts during the war had declared a preference for Departmental control unaided by practising teachers.⁸² In reaching these decisions, the committee were going no further than lending their weight to what Arbuckle had set down in his notes for the meeting, written the day before the meeting took place.⁸³ On the second point raised by Mackay Thomson, the committee overturned its earlier decision.

On the question of whether a certificate instead of a record, should be awarded to pupils leaving at the end of the fourth year, the Committee, on further consideration, were inclined to agree with the view expressed by the Secretary.⁸⁴

It can be seen then that after four meeting, and four months of deliberations and correspondence with Mackay Thomson, that the committee had come to decisions on three matters relevant to Chapter VIII of the Advisory Council's report. There was to be no internal element to assessment for any national examination (at the instigation of Watson), there should be no Advisory Examinations Council (as argued by Arbuckle), but there should be some relaxation with regard to existing SLC regulations (at the insistence of Mackay Thomson). The 4-6 year model implicit to the Advisory Council's examination scheme would not be acted upon, as the existing 3-5 year model appeared to be more appropriate to a leaving age of 15. This fourth meeting of the committee was effectively the last at which major decisions about the examinations system took place. Thereafter, the main concern of Mackay Thomson and this committee was to work out the finer details of their policy of "loosening" the SLC regulations, and legitimating their proposals through consultation with interested parties. What had been confirmed in these four months of deliberations was that detailed consideration of the many aspects of the report on secondary education other than those related to certification were all to be subordinated to the development of an examinations policy quite independent of the report. Henceforth, there would in effect be just one major issue, the legitimation of a modified scheme

of examinations and certification based on the 1939 codes.

* * * * *

In pursuit of the objective of reforming the Scottish Leaving Certificate to take into account the fourth year leaver and the academically less-successful fifth year leaver, a programme of consultation with interested parties was embarked upon. Significantly, the basis of consultation with the interest groups was not the Advisory Council's recommendations on certification, but those of the Department's own committee as modified by Mackay Thomson himself. Whereas in the spring and summer of 1947 the teachers, the head teachers and the directors of education had been discussing the Advisory Council's proposals, now, towards the end of that year and in early 1948, their representatives were being requested to respond to the Department's alternative proposals.

First to be referred to was the Association of Headmasters of Senior Secondary Schools, who had little hesitation in accepting the SED scheme. Similar success attended consultations with the EIS, but the ADES proved less amenable to persuasion. By the spring of 1948, Arbuckle reported back to his committee that

Only the liaison Committee of the Association of Directors of Education had shown any real hesitation in expressing general approval of the proposals The Department, understood, however, that no serious objection was likely to be raised, and they hoped to be able to submit an outline of the proposals to the Secretary of State at an early date.⁸⁵

And by the late spring and early summer of 1948, when the drafts of the Department's proposals were being drawn up for presentation to the Secretary of State, prior to a circular being issued, the assumption was that the proposals offered as an alternative to those of the Advisory Council would be generally acceptable. It was possible for Mackay Thomson to state in his second draft of the advice to be offered to the Secretary of State

I have already, in the strictest confidence, discussed /these proposals/ tentatively with representatives of the Educational Institute of Scotland, the Association of Headmasters of Senior Secondary Schools, and the Association of Directors of Education. All of them admitted the impossibility of giving early effect to the Advisory Council's recommendations for a fourth and sixth year certificate, and accepted the interim policy as a marked improvement on the present system.⁸⁶

There had at first been some concern as to the suitability of the Lower grade as a fourth year examination, and at an early stage of planning the launch of the Department's scheme it had been thought prudent to elicit from subject panels of Inspectors their opinions on this point. Towards the end of 1947, a memorandum had been sent to the subject panels enquiring as to whether the existing standard might have to be amended to allow them to be taken by the "pupil of average ability in the fourth year."⁸⁷ The replies were read out at the fifth meeting of the Departmental committee on 31st October. Surprisingly, the view of the subject panels, with the exception of the history panel, and that on modern languages, which suggested that some modification to the standard of marking might be required, was that "Fourth year pupils could, it was thought, attempt the present Lower Grade papers".⁸⁸ Events in England, however, soon impressed themselves on that decision. Mackay Thomson, who had apparently been in constant touch with the Ministry of Education, learned that the Ordinary Level examination proposed for England was to be raised to the then Credit standard of the existing (English) School Certificate. This meant that in order that a certain uniformity of standard should obtain throughout the UK, the Lower should continue at its existing standard. In justifying this to Arbuckle, Mackay Thomson pointed out that

It is obvious that England are making no attempt whatsoever to cater for the average pupil of 16 who will be found in the schools when the leaving-age is raised to 16. They take the view that there should be no ~~external~~ examination for pupils below 17. Their attitude makes it easier for us to fob off the EIS and others who hanker after a special certificate for the average pupil in the Junior Secondary School.⁸⁹

Confirming this refusal to alter the standard of the Lower to meet the abilities of the average fourth year pupil, it was stated at the tenth meeting of the committee that tentative plans to have different pass marks for fourth and fifth year Lower candidates, an idea that had been contemplated, should be abandoned.

..... The result might be that the average fourth year pupil would fail; that would be regrettable, but it could not be avoided in view of the paramount necessity of not lowering the standard⁹⁰

The "paramount necessity" of not lowering the standard derived to some extent from the fact that the Scottish universities recognised the Lower for entrance purposes. In the early stages of the development of this policy for the reform of the SLC it had been anticipated that lengthy negotiations with the Scottish Universities Entrance Board would be required were the standard of the Lower to be altered. Now, however, with an eye to keeping in step with England, as well as satisfying the Scottish universities, the virtue of retaining the standard of the Lower came to be regarded as a necessity.

One other problem that had been troubling the committee in the course of its deliberations was resolved by the end of 1948. In a minute to Arbuckle, Mackay Thomson had raised the question

How are we to prevent pupils from taking a crop of Lowers in their 4th year as a precautionary measure, before they take Highers in their 5th year? If 4th year Lower presentation, under our proposed scheme, were to become a regular practice, the cost of the examination and the staff required to run it would both rise steeply, and it might be difficult, in present circumstances, to get the necessary Treasury sanction.⁹¹

Replying to his own question, Mackay Thomson suggested a set of "restrictions", including one based on forfeiting any fourth year passes obtained should pupils return for a fifth year, but he left the final decision on these "restrictions" to the committee. The decision taken by the committee was that in the event of a successful fourth year candidate returning to school for presentation in the fifth year, all of his Lower passes

except one, would be cancelled. There would, therefore, be little incentive for those taking the "precautionary measure" to attempt to indemnify themselves against failure in the fifth year in this way. By maintaining the standard of the Lower and operating this sanction, no further consideration would have to be given as to how the Department might cope with the greatly increased examining and marking function that the Inspectorate saw itself as otherwise having to perform. Public expression was given to the new examinations strategy in a circular of January, 1949,⁹² and later confirmed in Circular 157 of June, 1949,⁹³ which announced that from September, 1950, the new conditions of award would obtain.

As has been noted above, decisions in principle about examinations and certificates had been taken before the end of 1947. Whether there ought to be an internally-assessed component to a national examination, whether the Advisory Council's recommendation that an Advisory Examinations Council be set up should be approved, what stages national examinations should be held at, whether there should be a record card for all school leavers, were all questions that had been resolved by the committee after four meetings. With these major issues disposed of in all except details, the committee turned its attention to subsequent chapters which referred to the curriculum, and to Chapter XII which gave an appraisal of the Inspectorate's role and function in Scottish education. Although views were expressed on curriculum, and stronger ones on the Advisory Council's unsolicited remarks on the Inspectorate, these topics did not engender the same committed opposition as the examinations issue had done. Curriculum and methodology were not, in fact, seriously debated, nor were the principles of secondary schools organisation. Once it had been decided that no major changes would be required to the 3-5 years model, it was implicitly assumed that long-course and short-course schools should constitute the normative elements of a bipartite system of secondary education. If there was to be no radical reform of the examinations structure, what need was there to lay down guidelines as to whether omnibus schools should be preferred to functional ones?

Of increasing concern to the committee towards the end of 1947, however, was the question of time-tables. The Advisory Council had appended to its report, somewhat reluctantly, sets of time-tables for the various courses it had recommended, and as the SED's response to the report would have to be made public at some point, it was felt that the Department should issue its own recommended time-tables, as "school authorities would simply fall back on the Advisory Council's time-tables unless the Department gave them the necessary guidance".⁹⁴ By March, 1948, drafts of minimum allocations of time for various areas of the curriculum had been prepared, showing history and geography as separate subjects, and disentangling music and art, contrary to the advice of Robertson's committee. These drafts were taken as the basis for Circular 188, issued in August 1950⁹⁵ and amended in February, 1951.⁹⁶ By the end of 1948, "all the bodies consulted"⁹⁷ had preferred history and geography to be treated as separate subjects, and the timetables of Circular 188 reflected the professed preference for the curriculum to be built upon traditional "subjects".

Both Circular 157 and Circular 188 were published consequent of the Departmental committee's analysis of the Advisory Council's report on secondary education. They were not, however, the only Departmental responses to "Secondary Education". In the Code of Regulations for 1950,⁹⁸ approval of the Advisory Council's recommendations that a Record Card should be given to school leavers who had completed three years of secondary education was given effect. In the early 1950s also, sets of memoranda and circulars on individual subjects of the secondary curriculum were regularly issued. "Education in Scotland in 1951" states confidently that

Further progress has been made with the publication of a series of memoranda, each concerned with one particular subject of the curriculum of secondary schools. Conferences of teachers to discuss the memoranda have been held in the four cities, under the auspices of the Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers⁹⁹

The most direct reply to the Advisory Council's report, however, was Circular 206 of

1951, which dealt with aspects of the report which had not either been referred to elsewhere, or would not be covered in forthcoming SED communications.¹⁰⁰ In fact, it dealt mainly with general rather than particular questions of organisation and curriculum, and concentrated on the education of "the majority" rather than that of "the intellectually able minority" which the report had claimed were "not ill-served by those traditional forms of secondary education which were designed for them".¹⁰¹ In tone, Circular 206 tended towards the exhortatory rather than the directive, as the topics on which it touched fell mainly within the discretionary power of the school or of the education authority rather than that of the Department.¹⁰² In the circular, the attempt was made to agree with the Advisory Council wherever possible, or at least to appear to be in agreement with the informing principles of the report. The introductory paragraph notes that

The Secretary of State has been deeply impressed by the stimulating quality of the Report, manifest alike in its finely reasoned statement of the aims and basic principles of secondary education and in the detailed application of these to the organization, curriculum and corporate life of the school, and he is sure that all concerned will find it both an inspiration and a challenge.¹⁰²

This attitude of general approval coupled to the serious reservations about the report which the Department privately harboured occasionally led to apparently contradictory statements being made in the circular. With regard to Social Studies, for example, the Secretary of State was credited with having considerable sympathy for history and geography being regarded as one subject,

He considers, however, that difficulties would in practice be experienced in attempting such a fusion over a course of several years, and he does not feel justified in recommending its adoption as a matter of general practice.¹⁰³

A similarly ambivalent attitude was held towards the Council's recommendation that handicrafts should be included in the curriculum of all pupils in the first three years of secondary education. While the general point was accepted, it was qualified by the condition that

..... in some of the more onerous five year courses, where it may not be possible to provide instruction throughout the earlier years of the course, a short intensive course should be provided, preferably during the summer term of the Leaving Certificate year.¹⁰⁴

Where the Advisory Council's intention had been that a balanced curriculum with handicrafts as an integral part of it should be the rule in the early years of secondary education, the Department saw fit to relegate that pursuit to the inconsequential fag-end of an academic school career.

Some of the Council's more radical proposals were, however, given almost unqualified approval in the circular, the only condition attending being that they should apply either to the younger pupils in the secondary school, or to the less able, or to those in classes demanding a "modified" curriculum. Many of the conclusions of the Chapter "Methods in the Secondary School"¹⁰⁵ are wholeheartedly commended by the Department, but the rhetoric of approval was not to be supported by administrative measures for substantive change. While Circular 206 did not overtly reject the report "Secondary Education", the implication on analysis is that where acceptable to the Department at all, the recommendations of the Advisory Council regarding secondary education, were much more suited to the junior secondary rather than the senior secondary school.

Over the longer term, however, Departmental response to the report was not entirely negative. The raising of the school leaving age to 15 in 1947 had compelled the less able pupil to an extended course of secondary education, but the schools were unprepared either in terms of physical accommodation or staffing or in expertise in teaching the new detainees. In order to ameliorate this unpreparedness, the report of the Advisory Council was taken in these conditions as a starting point from which a new type of education for junior secondary pupils could be developed. The Department's annual report for 1952 indicated that a panel of Inspectors was working on a general Memorandum on the Junior Secondary school, and that it would be published at an early date.¹⁰⁶ The report was not in fact published until 1955,¹⁰⁷ and

although less adventurous than the Advisory Council's report, it clearly drew to some extent on the earlier document for inspiration. With regard to "The Social Education of the Pupil", "Integration of Subjects", and "Projects", and the treatment of various individual subjects, there was a similar approach in the two reports. It can only be concluded, however, that in the immediate post-war period the Department had found little in the report "Secondary Education" that it could incorporate to its broad policy for secondary schooling.

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In preparing its responses to the report "Secondary Education", the Department was untroubled by the sort of impromptu close ministerial supervision that Tom Johnston had given in the early days of the sixth Council's term of office. On his departure from St Andrew's House in 1945 to assume chairmanship of the Hydro-Electric Board, Tom Johnston was succeeded as Secretary of State for Scotland by Lord Rosebery, an interim appointment of the Coalition Government for a brief six months. Following Rosebery's spell of responsibility, typified by his parting remark "Well I didn't make a bad job of this, did I? Didn't have time",¹⁰⁸ Joseph Westwood was Secretary of State until 1947. Although more conscientious than Rosebery, Westwood was always uncomfortable with his responsibilities, and was largely ineffectual in controlling the Scottish departments. Pottinger's verdict, that he "did not measure up to the job"¹⁰⁹ and that "It is best to regard Westwood's time as an interlude",¹¹⁰ may justifiably be extrapolated from his dealings with the SED. Although generally more highly regarded than Westwood, his successor, Arthur Woodburn, another Labour member, did not have a devout commitment to the development of the Scottish public system of education, nor was he always master of his educational brief.¹¹¹ During the spells of office of these three ministers the SED enjoyed a degree of autonomy not experienced under Johnston.

Nor was there any great measure of control exerted from the Commons, certainly as

regards the implementation of the report on secondary education. When a rare question on this subject was asked, MPs seemed to be content with anodyne replies. Perhaps, though, this may be explained by noting that the members who asked questions were usually Labour MPs not inclined to cause too much embarrassment to a Labour Secretary of State. Willie Gallacher, for example, in June, 1947, readily accepted a non-committal answer to his question

..... if /the Secretary of State for Scotland/ had taken note of the criticisms made of the Scottish Higher Leaving Certificate Examination by the Scottish Advisory Council on Education; and if he would take steps to abolish this barrier to educational progress and substitute the recommended alternative of a fourth year Certificate based on teachers' estimates and corrected by a standard test?¹¹²

Equally forbearing was Margaret Herbyson in the Estimates debate of July, 1947, who

..... would like to know when the Secretary of State and the Education Department were going to decide whether or not they were going to accept the recommendations of the Advisory Council on Education.¹¹³

A firmer line was adopted by Henderson Stewart in 1948. Henderson Stewart, who had served on the sixth Advisory Council, suggested in the Estimates Debate of that year that the Secretary of State's success should be measured in terms of his responses to the reports of the Council. In referring to what he regarded as "the most important topic of all, namely, secondary education"¹¹⁴ he had this to say:-

The report of the Advisory Council in this respect was probably unique. I was not able myself to contribute very much to it, and, therefore, I can say it was a very fine report, without praising myself in any way. The Secretary of State has done practically nothing about that report. He has issued a circular to the education authorities and teachers' organisations offering certain views about examinations and certificates, which for the most part, are contrary to the recommendations of the Advisory Council. I do not want to quarrel about that, but I am asserting that the Secretary of State has made no broad pronouncement upon the recommendations of the report on secondary education, in spite of the fact that the report was submitted in September, 1946, and published in September, 1947. I can tell the right hon Gentleman that the Scottish schools are waiting very impatiently for his general views.¹¹⁵

Woodburn's reply was that a final pronouncement on such an important report ought not to be "precipitous", and that at that moment, "the whole of Scotland"¹¹⁶ was being asked to debate the matter in order that a consensus of opinion might be established and made known. Pressing his point, however, Stewart informed Woodburn

I am sure the right hon Gentleman is right in getting a cross-section of opinion, but in the case of other reports he has prepared some general views by way of circular or memorandum, and we are looking for a similar expression on this matter of very great interest and importance in Scotland¹¹⁷

But at the next session of that year's Estimates Debates dealing with education, Stewart was not in attendance, and no other MP thought fit to bring up the topic of the Advisory Council's reports.

In the corresponding debates the following year, the only report of the Advisory Council mentioned was that on technical education, a subject which was attracting increasing attention in the post-war period. The bulk of the debate was given over to the lack of buildings, shortages of teachers, particularly teachers of mathematics and science, and to the salaries of teachers. Some MPs referred to their own local interests, handicapped pupils, and the steps that were being taken to promote the omnibus school /referred to as the "common" school by Peggy Herbison/, and Gallacher questioned the Minister regarding the award of the Leaving Certificate on a subject basis, but Thomas Fraser, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, accurately summed up contemporary priorities in his remark

I think more people in Scotland are concerned about the material shortages limiting the development of education than any other factor or feature.¹¹⁸

Indeed, from 1947 until at least the mid-fifties, the great objective of those involved in the development of education was not the implementation of reforming reports but the provision of suitable staff and accommodation to cope with the increased demand occasioned by the raising of the school leaving age on 1st April, 1947, and

exacerbated by the post-war "bulge" in the school age population.¹¹⁹

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In supplying the Advisory Council with remits, the Department had preferred those of limited scope on which immediate administrative or legislative action could be taken. The various responses to the reports of the sixth Council give some indication as to why this was so. The reports dealt with before the end of the war could, generally, be approved and adapted where deemed necessary to contribute to the thrust of policy that had been initiated by the Code of 1939 and refined in the early years of the war. The wider remits which resulted in the four major reports could not, however, have been approved without severe repercussions for established and developing Departmental policy, which was still largely being formulated free from strong ministerial direction, but with close attention to developments in England.

In dealing with the post-war reports, the Department sought common ground with the Advisory Council, and blessed that ground where it was found, but, particularly with regard to the reports on the training of teachers and secondary education, little common ground could be discovered. Accordingly, since it would have been injudicious to publicly reject these reports, they were greeted with the rhetoric of approval but were in fact quietly set aside.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Hansard (Commons), 4/7/44.
2. ED 8/28, undated Paper 259.
3. Education (Scotland) Act, 1945. 8 & 9 Geo 6, Ch 37.
4. See end of this chapter and Chapter 10.
5. Education (Scotland) Act, 1949. 12 & 13 Geo 6, Ch 19.
6. Hansard (Commons), 4/7/44; op cit.
7. ED 8/28, undated Paper 259; op cit.

8. Ibid.
9. SED (1945) Circular 23: Training for Citizenship; HMSO, Edinburgh.
10. SED (1949) Education in Scotland in 1948; HMSO, Edinburgh.
11. SED (1950) Young Citizens at School; HMSO, Edinburgh.
12. Hansard (Commons), 4/7/44; op cit.
13. Ibid.
14. This provision became law by Section 50 of the Act.
15. SED (1945) Education in Scotland in 1944; HMSO, Edinburgh.
16. SED (1945) Teachers (Emergency Arrangements (Scotland)) Provisional Regulations, 1945; HMSO, Edinburgh.
17. Education Act, 1944. 7 & 8 Geo 6, Ch 31, Section 100.
18. Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. 8 & 9 Geo 5, Ch 48, Section 4.
19. See Chapter 5.
20. ED 8/28, undated Paper 259; op cit.
21. Ibid.
22. SED (1947) Education Authorities (Scotland) Regulations; HMSO, Edinburgh.
23. SED (1954) Education in Scotland in 1953; HMSO, Edinburgh.
24. ED 8/28, undated Paper 259; op cit.
25. SED (1945) Circular 6: Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 - Section 21(2)(a); HMSO, Edinburgh.
26. SED (1945) Circular 43: Draft Education Authorities (Scotland) Grant Regulations, 1945. Education (Scotland) Act 1918 - Section 21(2)(a); HMSO, Edinburgh.
27. SED (1945) The Education Authorities (Scotland) Grant Regulations; HMSO, Edinburgh.
28. Johnston, T (1952) Memories; Collins, London; p 153.
29. Ibid.
30. ED 8/22, Meeting of Heads of Department, 12/12/44.
31. The Goschen formula which ensured that the Education (Scotland) Fund would be no less than eleven-eightieths of that spent in England and Wales on education was reaffirmed by Section 69 of the 1946 Act.

32. SED (1944) Technical Education: An Interim Report of a Special Committee of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh; para 14.
33. See Chapter 6.
34. ED 8/41, Meeting of special committee on technical education, 19/3/45.
35. ED 14/471, Secretary of State to Sir Steven Bilsland, 16/4/45.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. ED 8/28, Meeting of Heads of Departments, 12/12/44.
39. ED 8/25, Meeting of Advisory Council, 6/7/43; ED 8/27, Meeting of Advisory Council, 22/11/44; ED 8/27, undated Paper 325.
40. ED 8/41, Meeting of special committee on technical education, 26/4/45.
41. ED 8/28, Meeting of Advisory Council, 27/4/45.
42. ED 8/41, Meeting of special committee on technical education, 8/6/45.
43. SED (1953) Education in Scotland in 1952; HMSO, Edinburgh.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. SED (1951) Supply of Teachers: 1st Report of the Departmental Committee Appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmnd 8123.
47. SED (1958) Teachers (Training Authorities)(Scotland) Regulations; HMSO, Edinburgh.
48. SED (1959) Education in Scotland in 1958; HMSO, Edinburgh.
49. SED (1962) Teachers (Education, Training and Certification) (Scotland) Regulations 1962; HMSO, Edinburgh.
50. DES Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister; HMSO, London. Cmnd 2154.
51. SED (1965) Teachers (Education, Training and Certification) (Scotland) Regulations 1965; HMSO, Edinburgh.
52. SED (1965) Teachers (Education, Training and Certification) (Scotland) (Amendment) Regulations 1965; HMSO, Edinburgh.
53. Allan Rodger, SED (retired), in interview with A F McPherson and C D Raab, 1977.

54. SED (1947) Circular 122: Report on Primary Education by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh.
55. SED (1948) Education in Scotland in 1947; HMSO, Edinburgh.
56. Ibid.
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58. SED (1950) The Primary School in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh.
59. Scotland, J (1969) The History of Scottish Education: Vol 2; ULP, London; p 199.
60. SED (1950) The Primary School in Scotland, op cit; p 9.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. ED 8/51, Committee members as below:-

Secretariat

Mr Arbuckle (U/Secretary)
Mr Rodger (Asst Secretary)
Mr Mackenzie

Inspectorate

Mr Watson (HMSCI)
Mr Pringle (HMCI)
Mr Brunton (HMI)
Mr Ferguson (HMI)
Mr Gunn (HMI)
Mr Lambie (HMI)
Mr Macdonald (HMI)

64. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 16/5/47.
65. ED 8/51, Watson to Arbuckle, June, 1947.
66. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 18/7/47.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 26/7/47.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 6/8/47.

75. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 27/8/47, 29/8/47, and 3/10/47.
76. These proposed changes were made public in a pamphlet published in September:- M of E (1947) Examinations in Secondary Schools, a Report of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council; HMSO, London.
77. "Scotsman" of 30/9/47, quoted in ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 3/10/47.
78. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 3/10/47.
79. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 29/8/47.
80. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 7/10/47.
81. Ibid.
82. This response on the part of the teachers was hardly surprising, considering that they had not been paid for their services during the war. See Bone, T R (1968) School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966; ULP, London; p 211.
83. ED 8/51, Pencil-written note in Arbuckle's hand, 6/10/47.
84. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 18/3/48.
85. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 18/3/48.
86. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Secretary of State, 7/4/48.
87. ED 8/51, Circular from Mackay Thomson to subject panels, 10/10/47.
88. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 31/10/47.
89. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 28/4/48.
90. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 25/11/48.
91. ED 8/51, Mackay Thomson to Arbuckle, 13/2/48.
92. SED (1949) Circular 145:Scottish Leaving Certificate; HMSO, Edinburgh.
93. SED (1949) Circular 157:Scottish Leaving Certificate; HMSO, Edinburgh.
94. ED 8/51, meeting of committee, 10/2/48.
95. SED (1950) Circular 188: Schemes of Work for Secondary Departments; HMSO, Edinburgh.
96. SEd (1951) Circular 188: Schemes of Work for Secondary Departments (Amended); HMSO, Edinburgh.

97. ED 8/51, Meeting of committee, 25/11/48.
98. SED (1950) The Schools (Scotland) Code, 1950; HMSO, Edinburgh.
99. SED (1952) Education in Scotland in 1951; HMSO, Edinburgh.
100. SED (1951) Circular 206 Secondary Education: The Report of the Advisory Council; HMSO, Edinburgh.
101. SED (1947) Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland; HMSO, Edinburgh. Cmd 7005.
102. SED (1951) Circular 206; op cit.
103. Ibid; para 14.
104. Ibid; para 6.
105. Ibid; paras 15-19.
106. SED (1953) Education in Scotland in 1952; HMSO, Edinburgh.
107. SED (1955) Junior Secondary Education; HMSO, Edinburgh.
108. Pottinger, G (1979) The Secretaries of State for Scotland 1926-76; Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh; p 100.
109. Ibid; p 101.
110. Ibid; p 105.
111. On one occasion, for example, during the Estimates debates of 1949, he revealed that he was unaware of the Department's plans to relax the regulations for the award of the Senior Leaving Certificate. (Hansard (Commons) 28/6/49).
112. Scottish Educational Journal, 20/6/47, p 342.
113. Scottish Educational Journal, 1/8/47, p 433.
114. Hansard (Commons), 22/6/48.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid.
118. Hansard (Standing Committees), 28/6/49; Session 1948-49, Vol III, p 2872.
119. A L Young, former Director of Education for Aberdeen County is illuminating on this point. In conversation in March, 1983, he stated:- "..... because of the backlog, in every sphere of life, of the war, you couldn't get materials, you couldn't even get labour, it was in tremendous demand for all sorts of purposes. Even authorities that wanted to build schools had to compete for scarce

labour and materials against others who desperately wanted buildings for many other purposes – notably housing. You couldn't get the steel, you couldn't get timber. Schools hadn't been painted or decorated or anything of that kind since 1939 – and some of them were long overdue for painting in 1939 and they were in a pretty bad way in 1947. Directors of education were desperately trying to catch up with years of work and simply had to stand still during six years of war They were handicapped not only by the shortage of material but by the unwillingness of the authorities to spend money on the scale that was required. So it was a pretty frustrating time. They were coping with a reorganisation that was tied to the raising of the age to 15, the tightening up of exemptions that had previously been given to 13 year-olds. That meant nearly everybody was staying at school to 15, and they had to organise three-year courses in schools that didn't have the accommodation or the equipment or the staff to do it. That meant reorganisation on a huge scale. In Aberdeenshire certainly it was a terrific job"

Chapter 10

The Advisory Council in the Post-War Period

Although it became clear by 1947 that the sixth Advisory Council had completed a formidable body of work in undertaking a thorough review of almost the whole of the public system of education in Scotland, and in its four major reports had presented the Department with a considerable corpus of recommendations for its digestion, there was no suggestion at that time that the Council should not be reconstituted. The assumption on the part of both the Council and the Department was that the seventh Council should automatically begin session when the term of office of the sixth came to a close. As early as 1943, however, Mackay Thomson had expressed annoyance at the powers assumed by the "Scottish Parliament of Education",¹ and on its reconstitution in 1947, care was taken that the remits assigned to it would not be on the scale of those conducted in the later stages of the term of office of the sixth Council – the four longer reports which bore most strongly on future policy decisions. The device of offering the seventh Council less onerous commissions was, in the main, successful in that it obviated direct confrontation between the Council and the Department over policy. Remits on handicapped children, the use of audio-visual aids in schools, and libraries, impinged but lightly on the Department's main policy concerns. But the sixth Council had recommended that its successor should also make recommendations for the development of further education, a sector in which the Department in 1947 was about to take some policy initiatives. As had happened over the reorganisation of secondary education in 1921, and was again happening over the full-scale reports of the sixth Council, the Council's intrusion in an area of current concern was about to give rise to further controversy.

In its reconstituted form as the seventh Council, the advisory body had in addition to its twenty-five members, an Assessor appointed by the SED. This was in accordance

with Section 68 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946,² a clause which sought to bring the Advisory Council into closer relation to the work of the Department. The addition of Grainger Stewart as Assessor ought, in theory, to have allowed the Council to be informed as to the Department's attitude to their remits, and thereby decrease the possibility of their proceeding at cross purposes to the Department. In the case of further education, however, Grainger Stewart attempted little by way of liaison or influencing the Council's judgment, and the committee set up to make recommendations on this topic, with Robertson as convener, and McClelland, the new Chairman of the Council, frequently in attendance, began its enquiries unclear as to what the Department had in mind for this developing sector.

The committee saw as its first task the need to acquaint itself with the current position, but its briefing came not from Grainger Stewart, as might have been expected, but from John Macdonald, an official recently appointed to the Department with special responsibility for the development of further education, and HMI Ferguson, who had given evidence to the sixth Council on technical education. The general background was given by Circular 56 of 8/2/46,³ which informed authorities that under Sections 1 and 2 of the 1945 Act they would be required to submit to the Department schemes for the provision of further education in their areas: that while these schemes were not required immediately, authorities "should have in mind that such a requirement will be forthcoming"⁴ At a meeting in March, 1947, Macdonald suggested that the committee's task should be to look beyond the immediate future, to when junior colleges, considered integral to the development of further education, would be in existence at some point beyond 1950.⁵ He then outlined the Department's general strategy with regard to authorities' submissions of schemes, that it would have a conference and consultations with each local authority before requesting their submissions. As Robertson saw it, both the uncertainty regarding the building up of a network of junior colleges and the Department's initiative in discussing with authorities how schemes might be implemented, put the committee in an unenviable

position.

The Convener said that the position was very difficult. Officially the Committee would have to take account of an Act which proposed that the extension of statutory education would take effect in 1950. If there was any probability that this would be an effective date /denied by Macdonald/, there was little point in making recommendations for the short period between the submission of any report and 1st April, 1950. More clarification was needed if the Committee were to work with a sense of reality.⁶

And regarding the Department's initiative in proposing discussions with authorities, he saw it to be

..... acquiring information and experience which will in due course constitute such evidence as this Committee could hardly obtain from any other source.⁷

What was proving problematic for Robertson's committee was their constitutional position. At one remove from the executive, they could not control the variables, the physical resources and the facilities that local administrators could muster, on which any recommendations they might make, would necessarily depend. Uncertainty regarding building provision rendered them unable to envisage the scenario for the future, and that the Department was currently conducting its own enquiries, seemed an unnecessary duplication of effort. The solution proposed by Robertson was that the committee should give immediate attention to aspects of the remit about which there seemed to be absolute certainty that is, non-vocational continuation classes, the extension of voluntary part-time day release, and, having taken up these matters,

..... the Committee should postpone for perhaps a year the detailed consideration of these parts of the Remit covered by the two recent Reports /The Advisory Council's Report on Technical Education,⁸ and the Youth Advisory Council publication "The Needs of Youth in These Times"⁹/ and by the present activities of the Department.¹⁰

This approach suggested by Robertson was taken up by the committee for the time being, but was soon to be prejudiced by "the present activities of the Department".

The focal point of these "present activities" was a conference held at Dunblane from 18th-21st April between the Department and representatives of the education authorities. At that conference the Department made it known that authorities would be required to submit in early 1948 their schemes for the provision of further education "not only for the immediate future, but showing what should be provided for the next 20 years".¹¹ Reporting to the committee what had taken place at the Dunblane conference, Dr D M McIntosh, Director of Education for Fife, and a member of the Advisory Council committee, summed up the situation consequential of the conference.

Thus, on the one hand, the Advisory Council were asked to investigate the field of further education and to make recommendations to the Secretary of State, and, on the other hand, Education Authorities were to be asked to prepare long-term schemes before the Secretary of State would have an opportunity of considering the recommendation that would be made by the Council.¹²

The logic of McIntosh's analysis recommended itself to the committee, and it was decided that in order to clarify the position, the committee should ask Mackay Thomson to receive a deputation to discuss the whole question.

Before the deputation attended the meeting with the SED, which took place on 9th June, the committee sent a letter to the Department expressing its concern at what had been reported as the conclusions of the Dunblane conference, and noting that

If these reports are well founded, such action /requiring the submission of schemes/ on the part of the Department would, in the Committee's view, render the Council's report valueless, as the Secretary of State's policy would in fact be decided before that report, containing recommendations as to the policy he should adopt, reaches him.¹³

At the discussion which took place between the deputation and the Department, the main point at issue was whether the submission of schemes to the Department entailed commitment to long-term policy or not. Having first declared himself "perplexed" by the committee's letter, Mackay Thomson indicated that the request for

submissions should be construed as a matter of expediency.

Sir John Mackay Thomson said that he would like to stress that it was essential that the Secretary of State should have authority for the payment of grants for Further Education, and that authority only existed if there were schemes. These schemes, however, would not be binding on the Secretary of State and on Authorities indefinitely;¹⁴

But the deputation was not entirely convinced by this explanation, Robertson fearing that the submission of schemes would lead to a definite declaration of policy. The Department's point of view was further advanced by Macdonald, also in attendance at that meeting, who stated that the main purpose of the conference at Dunblane had been to alert authorities to the need to earmark sites for community centres, a measure which, he suggested, was prudent, and only had long-term repercussions with regard to buildings. This observation of Macdonald's, however, did little to allay Robertson's suspicions that the selection of sites would materially affect long-term policy. Having assured himself that this was indeed the case, he expressed the view that "the remit was not so fundamental as the Council had thought".¹⁵ Neither Mackay Thomson nor Macdonald, nor Grainger Stewart for that matter, who made up the representation of the Department at that meeting, although listed as representative of the Council, took up this point of Robertson's, and the suggestion was made that no "fait accompli" would be effected before the Council presented its report. By the time that the meeting was drawn to a conclusion there was no further resolution to the problem.

Matters were not to be left in this unhappy state, however, and at the July meeting of the committee, it was reported that a further meeting had taken place between a deputation from the Council and representatives of the Department. For the deputation, McClelland reported that at the meeting with the Department

They had tried to make it clear that the Council had no wish to dictate to the Department the action they should take and when they should take it. It had been explained that the Council's position was that they would like to have timely intimation of what action the Department proposed to take in order that that the Council might know if

foundations were being laid which were so strong that the Council could not proceed with the Remit in its present form. The Council could not be put into a position of considering something that had already been decided.¹⁶

At this second meeting, the predicament of the Council had apparently been appreciated more sympathetically by Mackay Thomson, who declared that he had been considering the problem of liaison between the Department and the Council, but apparently had no answer to offer. When, however, McClelland suggested that Macdonald should attend meetings of the committee to keep the Council informed as to the Department's initiatives and attitudes, Mackay Thomson readily agreed. The committee, also, were generally of the opinion that this was a satisfactory arrangement, and agreed that it should be confirmed. Having made this advance with regard to liaison with the Department, the committee was more disposed to accept the Department's interpretation of the outcome of the Dunblane conference: that the earmarking of sites was not to be taken as commitment to a definite line of policy. There was, nevertheless, mild censure of "the rather flamboyant statements made at the Dunblane Conference",¹⁷ and Robertson was altogether less enthusiastic about the attendance of Macdonald at meetings of the committee than the other members were. Commenting on what had transpired he stated that

..... in the last resort there were two alternatives: either to accept the Department's assurances /that they were not actively pursuing a line of policy/ or – which could not be advocated at this stage – to say that the remit was not acceptable in the present circumstances – this alternative could only be urged if the Council were convinced that the situation was impossible.¹⁸

The attendance of Macdonald at meetings would presumably make the position less "impossible", compelling Robertson to the rather more optimistic conclusion that

The differences might resolve themselves, as the Department now seemed to be conscious that the virtue of ardour wedded to the virtue of caution was a sound marriage.¹⁹

These encouraging words, however, did not signal a lasting change of heart on

Robertson's part, for throughout the term of office of the Council, and beyond it, he remained critical of the Department's initiatives, and shortly after this series of communications between the Department and the Council, though not admitted to have been a consequence of it, Robertson resigned as convener of the committee. Announcing Robertson's decision, McClelland stated that "He /Robertson/ had been forced to realise that he could not carry on without hurt to health, work or home".²⁰ The deliberations of the committee continued with A D Buchanan Smith, a specialist in animal genetics and a member of Midlothian County Council, as convener in place of Robertson.

In February, 1948, at a meeting of the committee, Macdonald and other representatives of the Department in attendance gave verbal support to a questionnaire set them by the committee, indicating that they would have difficulty in suggesting any subject that would require an interim report.²¹ Nor could the deputation from the Department nominate any particular development that had sprung to prominence. Maintaining the policy of liaison with the Council, Mackay Thomson sent a draft circular /later published as Circular 134²²/ for the Council's comments in July, the covering note stating that the Department did not feel that what was said in the circular was likely to run counter to what the committee were likely to recommend. The committee, however, found the circular not entirely reassuring on that point, for while the circular pointed out that

..... the whole subject /Further education/ is at present under consideration by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, and the Department would not wish Authorities' plans to be cast in final form until the Council's report is available and has received full consideration.²³

it also requested that authorities should submit schemes for further education, outlining both present and future provision, by no later than 31st March, 1949.

The receipt of this draft circular occasioned concern within the committee. Most disturbing was that the Department had requested the submission of schemes at such

an early date, and the pressure of time was emphasised by Davidson, the Secretary, who stated that "To be effective the Council's Report would have to be published within the next three or four months".²⁴ McClelland, though, was less disconcerted by the proposed issue of the circular, and he suggested that he should reply that while the committee were unable, at that stage of their enquiries, to say that nothing in the circular would run counter to what they were likely to recommend, the issue of the circular would not embarrass them in continuing with their work. Other members of the committee did not share McClelland's confidence that the authorities' stated intentions for the future in reply to the Department's circular would not bind them to their stated intentions, and to satisfy these suspicions, McClelland offered to suggest to the Department that they make two amendments to the Circular which would make the authorities' submissions less binding.

Mackay Thomson's response to McClelland's letter was to adopt one amendment and ignore the other, and in reporting this to the committee, McClelland gave his opinion that the spirit of the committee's comments had been observed. But a very different interpretation of the correspondence was offered by Robertson, who had not attended the previous meeting of the committee.

Mr Robertson said that he would like to express his very grave concern at what he felt to be the fundamentally unsatisfactory position of the Committee's remit. They had felt from the beginning that difficulties were present. The minute of the last meeting was a most dismal record of the distress and dissatisfaction felt by the various members The Committee should not put itself in the position of issuing a report after all the statutory bodies were committed to their future policy.²⁵

Robertson urged that in order to obviate this unhappy position the concentrated efforts of the whole Council should be devoted to completing the report in a very short time. He reiterated his view that physical planning could not be divorced from policy, and expressed his belief that "the Authorities would be deeply committed even although there could be no actual building for a long period".²⁶ While some members supported Robertson's proposal that the producing of the report should be

accelerated, the weight of opinion was against him, the majority accepting the Department's assurances of the summer of 1947 that authorities' schemes would be regarded as provisional and not binding, and that they were required mainly in order to secure future capital funding. The conclusion of the committee was that the writing of the report ought not to be accelerated, but there was a residual feeling from the discussion that matters could not proceed as they had done to date. One member suggested that for specific purposes, the committee might split into smaller groups. This suggestions was adopted, and the conclusion of the meeting was that

There was a need for a plan of action which might include plans for working parties and this might be prepared by the Convener, the Chairman and the Secretary for the next meeting.²⁷

A month later the committee was presented with a proposal as to future procedure.

The proposal was that the committee, while holding together under the convenership of Buchanan Smith, should as occasion require divide itself into two sub-committees, each charged with conducting enquiries in two accepted areas of further education. The field of further education was parcelled out into five convenient blocks, (1) Adult education; (2) Continuation classes; (3) Social and recreational activities carried on in Youth Clubs and Community Centres; (4); Technical education (local and central) and (5) Works schools, Day Release centres, and Pre-Apprenticeship centres. It was suggested that one sub-committee, Sub-Committee A, take responsibility for (1) and (3), while the other should look to areas (2) and (5), the fourth sub-division, technical education, having been assumed dealt with by the previous Advisory Council. The rationale for the division of labour on these lines, although not made explicit, was almost certainly that areas (1) and (3) referred to sectors at a very elastic stage of their development, while (2) and (4) represented sectors of education in which there was already provision, and about which there was little ambiguity, at least regarding the statutory position, and the existing arrangements made by education authorities. In any event, the proposal was unanimously accepted by the committee, and at the

meeting of 13/10/48, Sub-Committee A under the convenership of J Wilkie, Secretary to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, was constituted, as was Sub-Committee B with McIntosh as convener.²⁸

In suggesting formally that the committee should be divided, McClelland confessed at that October meeting that the committee on further education had experienced unprecedented difficulties among the committees of the Council that he had been associated with. In recommending his plan for the allocation of responsibilities to the sub-committees he stated that

The considerations that had weighed with him were that in his experience of Advisory Council work no remit had been so troublesome as the one on Further education. It differed from all other remits in its range of problems, in the inherent difficulty of the issues in the various fields, and above all, the difficulty of getting the whole field into a coherent unified workable system. There was also the fact of time,²⁹

Robertson's dissatisfaction could be explained more in terms of what he regarded as unwelcome pressure and constraining directives from the Department. Perhaps what lay at the root of the problem was that both the Advisory Council and central government were attempting to deal with, and prescribe for, a sector which was as yet in its infancy. Further education, as a recognisable sector of education, had developed, and was still developing, largely as a result of local and voluntary initiative. It drew for its definition not only on existing concepts of adult education, technical education, and continuation class work, but also on local and works' recreative, vocational and community activities. Technical education and continuation classes looked mainly to the State for financial support, but the main body involved in adult education, the WEA, drew only a small percentage of its operational costs from the public exchequer. The other activities embraced by the term, further education could, under the consolidating 1946 Act, look to local authorities for financial support, but, at the time that the seventh Council was in session, such provision, all too conspicuously, had not yet been planned in detail. The Advisory Council, therefore, was in the invidious position of being required to make recommendations for a sector

that was in the process of being absorbed into the public system, and being absorbed in a piecemeal and unsystematic way. The central authority's priority was regulation towards conformity rather than devising imaginative policy on which regulations would be predicated. The Advisory Council's unenviable task was to render their policy recommendations compatible with the administrative measures the Department, in its quest for bureaucratic uniformity, would adopt.

Fortunately, from the committee's point of view, there were no substantive repercussions from the issuing of Circular 134. The shortage of building materials, which became particularly acute in 1949, saw to it that planning proposals for further education building would not advance beyond the drawing-board stage, and the scheme for a national network of junior colleges was officially shelved. This being the case, the two sub-committees were able to pursue their deliberations without the inconvenience of having to take cognisance of unforeseen circumstances. By the summer of 1949, Sub-Committee B had gone a considerable way towards completing its part of the report, but the drafting of Sub-Committee A's contribution had been deferred, pending a conference with the ADES, largely to brief the sub-committee as to changes in local circumstances. During the course of 1950 and 1951, the work of drafting and co-ordinating the sections of the report was undertaken, and it was eventually presented to the Secretary of State, without further significant setbacks towards the end of 1951. Published in early 1952 as a Command Paper,³⁰ the report on further education prompted little controversy in the world outside the Advisory Council itself.

Ironically, it was the urgency impressed by the SED in the early stages of the committee's sitting that had rendered the Council's perception of the remit as problematic, and now that that report was completed, the SED's inability to have made any progress with the development of further education effectively obviated controversy over the publication of the report. Compared with the committee on further education, the proceedings of the other committees of the Council were

uneventful, and their reports were produced without inconvenience either to the SED or the committees themselves. By the time that the reports of the seventh Council were published, however, the national economic climate was generally regarded as being uncongenial to educational advance, and the recommendations made were regarded more as tentative plans for the future rather than as policy for immediate consideration or implementation.

It was, however, neither controversy nor the lack of it engendered by the reports of the first post-war Advisory Council that led to the suspension of its sitting between 1952 and 1957. With the election victory of the Conservatives in 1951 all committees operating under the auspices of the SED were subjected to close scrutiny. In making its recommendations regarding the Advisory Council, the Department suggested that the reconstitution of the Council should be deferred for a number of reasons. The main reasons given were that the two post-war Councils had reviewed the whole field of education, and that it was consequently difficult to find any useful remit that might be given to a new Council, and that the outstanding administrative work arising from the reports of these two Councils would "keep the Department and the Education Authorities busy for the next two or three years".³¹ In addition, the SED cited financial arguments for dispensing with the Council for the immediate future, that the postponement of the reconstitution of the Council would give a small saving in the Estimates, and that any desirable advances which a new Council might advocate would have to be postponed as a consequence of the incoming Government's declared need for national economy. These arguments presented by the SED won considerable support from incoming ministers, not least from Lord Home, and the only opposition among the new political masters at the Scottish office was from Henderson Stewart, now Joint Under Secretary of State in the Conservative administration. Henderson Stewart's consent to the postponement of Advisory Council activities was, however, only secured "..... provided the position is reviewed in about a year"³² With full ministerial approval secured, a new order in council was effected in 1952,

which in addition to giving the Secretary of State the power to set the Council in abeyance, also enabled him to appoint fewer than twenty-five members.³³

As a consequence of that order, no more was heard of the Advisory Council until June, 1955, in which month Henderson Stewart wrote to Sir William Murrie, who had been appointed in 1952 as Mackay Thomson's successor as Secretary of the SED. In his minute to Murrie, Henderson Stewart suggested that following up the recommendations of the Appleton Committee which had advised on remedying the current shortage of teachers and generally improving their status, that the smaller-scale Advisory Council of the 1952 order might be the appropriate body to conduct a wider enquiry on that subject. He argued

We may feel that we know the reasons for the shortage and what Local Authorities (for example) might do to raise the status of teachers; but don't we want backing from an authoritative outside body?³⁴

In a general discussion among senior officials of the Department, which took place three days after the writing of that minute, the prevailing consensus was, however, against the reconstituting of the Council for that purpose, and on the receipt of that advice, Henderson Stewart dropped for the time being, his advocacy of the reconstitution of the Council.

But Henderson Stewart was not prepared to accept as final this setback in his campaign to have the Advisory Council re-activated. His next opportunity rose late in 1956. In October of that year, at the Committee Stage of the Education (Scotland) Bill,³⁵ there was pressure from Scottish Labour MPs for the setting up of a committee of the Advisory Council to consider the whole problem of education authority bursaries to students of further education. As Under Secretary of State, Henderson Stewart had given no undertaking that such a committee would be set up for that purpose, but he added that

As soon as we are confronted with a problem that needs examination by that peculiarly well-equipped body we will at once

reconstitute it and ask it to help us.³⁶

Following up this declaration in Parliament, Henderson Stewart wrote to Murrie, suggesting the reconstitution of the Council and proposing, among other remits, that the topic of comprehensive schools might well be one which a reconstituted Council should tackle.³⁷

This suggestion of Henderson Stewart's was made the subject of a set of minutes which Murrie solicited from his senior colleagues. Most influential of these minutes were those of J S Brunton, then HMSCI, and Arbuckle, shortly to succeed Murrie as Secretary of the Department. Brunton was opposed to Henderson Stewart's suggestion that the Council might be reconstituted in order to deal with comprehensive education. His view was that "..... an Advisory Council is not really a suitable body for dealing with political problems" and that even if it were, the sixth Council had dealt fully with that topic.³⁸ As Brunton saw it, the pressing educational problems of the moment were the need for a suitable national examination at the end of the third year of secondary education, a review of the curriculum of the senior secondary school, and an enquiry into the examinations and curriculum of the further education sector. He was not, however, convinced that the Advisory Council was the body best constituted to deal with any of these problems, and, his conclusion was, therefore,

..... that there may be a case for re-appointing the Advisory Council to investigate the question of the third year examination and the whole question of public examinations in Scotland. Apart from this, there are many questions requiring investigation by competent bodies of practising educationists, but I do not think that they are suitable for remits to an Advisory Council.³⁹

Equally unenthusiastic in his response to Henderson Stewart's championing of the Advisory Council, was Arbuckle, who declared himself against its reconstitution, certainly in the immediate future. He could see no useful role for it until

..... say, about 1960, when we are beginning to see beyond our present difficulties. Until that time comes an Advisory Council is only too likely, in accordance with the perfectionist attitudes of such a body,

to make recommendations for developments which we cannot undertake because of shortage of teachers but which we have the invidious task of rejecting.⁴⁰

But having given what amounted to a commitment in the House of Commons that the Council would be reconstituted, Henderson Stewart's suggestion could not be set aside by the Department, and at a meeting of the Secretariat on 19th November, the decision was taken that the Council should be re-activated.⁴¹

At this meeting it was agreed that three remits should be suggested to Henderson Stewart as suitable for the Advisory Council. In addition to a review of the examination system, as had been suggested by Brunton, it was also concluded that rural education and promotion from primary to secondary school would be appropriate remits. Further restrictions, however, were suggested on the rather free-ranging approach that had formerly characterised the activities of the Advisory Council, the Secretary coming to the conclusion that

..... it would almost certainly be better, instead of constituting the Advisory Council under the present Order in Council for a period of three years, to constitute separate Councils for each specialised remit. The danger that an omniscient body might give advice on questions which had not been referred to them would probably be less if each Council was a specialised body with a particular remit.⁴²

Murrie's formal reply to Henderson Stewart, however, steered the more prudent course of not overtly suggesting a wholesale re-casting of the established model of the Advisory Council, but it implied that the Council might perform more specialised functions. He wrote

In the absence of any general demand for the reconstitution of the Advisory Council, its reconstitution would appear to be justifiable only if there are subjects which it might profitably consider, either in order to provide authoritative advice or to carry out investigations⁴³

The remits he finally suggested for the new Council referred to the supply of teachers, promotion procedures from primary to secondary school, and the examination

structure beyond the fourth year. He also recommended (1) that remits should be dealt with one at a time; (2) that the membership of the Council should be considerably less than 25; (3) that each enquiry should be conducted by a Special Committee of the Council on which non-members appointed by the Secretary of State might serve, and (4) that it would adhere to a pre-ordained timetable in the conduct of its enquiries.⁴⁴ Notwithstanding the arrival of a new ministerial team to St Andrew's House in January, 1957, the eighth Council was launched in the early spring of that year on these terms, with T M Knox, Vice-Chancellor of St Andrew's university as Chairman, and Allan Rodger, the Assistant Secretary of the Department in charge of teacher training, as an Assessor.

This Special Committee produced an interim report in June, and its full report, one of the main recommendations of which was that women recruits should be diverted from courses of primary training to courses of secondary training, was published in February, 1959. Given the acute shortage of secondary school teachers at that time, and the imminent launching of the Special Recruitment Scheme, the recommendations of the Advisory Council, referred to by the SEJ as "bold measures" and "grasping the nettle",⁴⁵ might have been expected to have been acceptable to the Department. This was not, however, the case, for although there was little overt criticism of the report by the Department, the central authority was disappointed that the Council had not recommended dilution of teachers' qualifications.⁴⁶ The proposal made in the interim report and again in the final report, that during the current staffing crisis, full pay and pension under certain conditions should be made to teachers returning to service after retirement, was also regarded as unacceptable, and was met with opposition from the Department.

The pre-ordained timetable for the Council was not, however, to be upset by that setback, and on the submission of its report on the shortage of teachers in secondary schools, the Advisory Council took up its remit on the post-fourth year structure of examinations in Scotland. The report resulting from that remit,⁴⁷ produced after little

more than a year of deliberation, recommended that an Advanced grade of the SLC be introduced, not to replace the Higher grade as a university entrance qualification, but rather as an alternative to the university bursary competition, the acknowledged goal of sixth year work, and a goal which the Council could not fully commend as being in the best interests of Scottish secondary education. It was also recommended that a Scottish Examination Board be set up to conduct this (and other) examination(s). The Examination Board would be independent of the Department, and would have a substantial representation of teachers on its governing body. These recommendations were, in fact, approved by the Department, and supported by the EIS, "provided examinations of the right type are set",⁴⁸ but before the Advanced Grade was introduced, grass-root opposition from the teachers,⁴⁹ and the return of a Labour Government with other educational priorities,⁵⁰ obliged its withdrawal. It was not until after an interval of some years, that the Advanced grade's spiritual successor, the Certificate of Sixth Year Studies was introduced. The creating of an Examination Board, however, proceeded much more smoothly, resulting in the constitution of the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board in 1964. The very last report of the Council, on the conditions of transfer from primary to secondary education,⁵¹ was produced without undue controversy within the Council. Its recommendations, which implied criticism of bipartite organisation on junior secondary and senior secondary lines, did not, however, provoke strong comments from the Scottish educational public.

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When compared with the published report of the first Advisory Council, and the major reports of the sixth Council, those of the seventh and eighth Councils were apparently less critical to relations between the Department and the interest groups. There was, however, a degree of friction engendered either in the production, or on the reception, of some of these reports. Such friction was sufficient to indicate that the structural position of the Council *vis-a-vis* the Department was as yet unsatisfactory. There had

been concern expressed in the ranks of the seventh Council regarding the remit on further education, and although neither that report nor the others of the seventh Council made recommendations opposed to evolving Departmental policy which had in fact been checked by a perceived need for national economy, the stress within McClelland's committee could not be ignored. The reports of the eighth Council, on the other hand, failed to command the wholehearted approval of all the interested parties. The Department was disappointed in the report on the supply of teachers, and the teachers were unhappy about the proposed introduction of an Advanced grade certificate. In spite of the fact that the sixth Council had dealt with all the apparently controversial remits, and that Murrie had remodelled the constitution of the Council, its continuing existence was apparently contributing little to the creation of consensus across the parties of the Scottish educational community. Its continuing existence was clearly in jeopardy, especially since smaller ad hoc committees were now undertaking much of the work that would naturally have fallen to the Council a decade earlier, and, in fact, the Council was not recalled after the the eighth Council demitted office. The statutory apparatus for the reconstitution of the Scottish Advisory Council remains in force at the time of writing, though that sanctioning any possible reconstitution of the CAC has recently been revoked.⁵²

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Discussion

Although the Advisory Council has not been recalled since 1961, its demise was not as abrupt as the citing of a date might suggest. Between 1951 and 1957 the Council did not sit, and during these years the SED looked elsewhere for advice. During the term of office of the eighth Council these alternative sources of advice made use of between 1951 and 1957 continued to be consulted, and the Advisory Council ceased to be regarded as the most authoritative consultative body advising the Department. Referring remits to advice-giving bodies other than the Advisory Council during the mid-1950s was not, however, a sudden departure on the part of the SED. The use of a number of differently constituted bodies from whom to take advice stretches back to the war years, and before. The Department had always held occasional informal discussions with representatives of the interest groups; in the forties, panels of Inspectors had made recommendations on various topics to the administration; and in the fifties one of these panels produced a report of considerable contemporary significance.¹ Also contributing significantly to the Department's policy-making were small committees made up of SED officials and "outsiders" with specialised expertise in particular fields.² In the late fifties, at the instigation of the energetic J S Brunton as HM Senior Chief Inspector, the device of the working party, made up of administrators, Inspectors, and representatives of the educational constituencies, came to prominence. When questioned as to why he favoured this type of advice-giving body to examine the curriculum of the senior secondary school, Brunton replied, "I called it a Working Party because I was determined it wasn't going to be a Committee whose report would be pigeon-holed".³ The implication was that with members of the executive participating in policy making with representatives of the interest groups, the implementation of proposals would be greatly facilitated. The advent of the working party, and the existence of other ad hoc committees, did much to undermine the importance of the Council as an advice-giving body, and by the late fifties, the

Advisory Council was but one of a repertoire of bodies with which the Department consulted, although it remained the only one established by statute until the creation of the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board in 1964.

The very establishment of the SCEEB by statute, providing a standing committee with responsibility for conducting national examinations and advising the Department on examinations policy, was a move which reduced the importance of the Advisory Council. The creation of the Central Committee on the Curriculum (CCC), a permanent body made up of representatives of the various interest groups and of the Department, but effectively dominated by the Department, also affected the status of the Council. Moreover, a consequence of the creation of the SCEEB was that Inspectors, who had formerly been engaged for a considerable part of their working year in the setting and correction of examination papers, were now free of that burden and able to commit more of their time to development work. A relaxation of the volume of school inspection, and that they would no longer be required to inspect Colleges of Education as from 1958 released Inspectorial staff from much of their routine work, and allowed their energies, talent and experience to be diverted towards the apparently more necessary task of contributing to policy making.

The SED's overarching priority in the reform of the machinery of consultation was that of improving co-ordination between the formulation of policy and its implementation. There is a compelling logic to the notion that those aware of the problems of administration will have a useful role to play in creating and defining the substance of future practice. The newer bodies, however, have not always been regarded with unreserved admiration,⁴ although some succeeded in effectively formulating desirable innovations and translating them into practice. The success of the Mathematics Syllabus Committee, for example, a working party chaired by A G Robertson, an HMI, has been commended for its efficiency.

In April 1964, twelve months after its formation, the committee published draft syllabuses for the O grade in mathematics of the

Scottish Certificate of Education. An experimental text with teachers' notes began its trials in fifteen pilot schools in session 1963-4, and the following session forty-five other schools joined in the experiment, thus involving a total of some seven thousand pupils. Seven books were planned to cover the three and a half years of study to O grade. Book I was written in the spring of 1964, printed in the summer and used in the experimental schools in the autumn. The remaining books were written in quick succession, two more being added eventually to take the course up to Higher grade In-service courses and the supply of appropriate equipment to schools were also organized⁵

But even regarding the limited objective of smoothing the path between what could realistically be proposed and what the resources of the central and local authority might provide, the working party system received some criticism. Perhaps the best-known working party publication, "The Brunton Report",⁶ produced by a committee containing no fewer than 10 Inspectors and 3 officials of the Department out of a total membership of 28 was censured by the EIS, principally for the reason "that it does not tell us how /the/ desirable changes /proposed in the report/ are to be brought about".⁷ The SEJ made the point that

The working party could not deal effectively with questions of ways and means because there are too many factors missing from the equation. In the first place, the recommendations of the working party clearly call for many more teachers⁸

a problem acknowledged as formidable but not insuperable, and

Secondly, bridges cannot be built between secondary and further education until we have adequate bases on the further bank, and here the educationists are in the hands of the employers.⁹

Inability to co-ordinate advice and execution, to translate its recommendations into practice, was precisely the weakness attributed to the Advisory Council by Sir Norman Graham, Secretary of the Department in 1968, when he gave evidence to a Parliamentary Select Committee, and here a working party was being accused of the same sort of weakness. Commenting on his appointment of himself as chairman of the CCC, Graham stated that by this arrangement

We have hitherto avoided the situation altogether which I think

sometimes arose in the days when we had the Advisory Council in that the committee /the Advisory Council/ proposed and the Secretary of State disposed.¹⁰

Graham's assuming chairmanship of the CCC, was, however, a controversial measure in itself, encouraging doubts as to the independence of the new body. His action left him open to the accusation that in so doing, he was attempting to effectively control this body, and thereby assume direct responsibility for the curriculum of Scottish schools. His reply in commenting on this situation, although accepted by the 1968 Select Committee, would hardly convince those who felt that excessive control was gravitating towards the centre. Graham stated

I think to be quite frank that if there had been anyone with the time outside who seemed to us eminently equipped to do this, we should have appointed someone.¹¹

Apparently, therefore, according to Graham, it was not a matter of his attempting to impose the priorities of the Department on the committee: rather that either there was a paucity of talent among Scottish educationists, or those of ability were so involved in their day to day work that they did not have time for curricular policy making. Certain members of the CCC advanced a rather different interpretation of Graham's action.¹²

What applied to the inclusion of the Secretary of the Department as chairman of the new standing committee, applied equally to the inclusion of HMIs on working parties. The 1968 Select Committee was informed in a written memorandum from the Department that the Inspectorate were now engaged to a greater extent in "development work".¹³ Part of this "development work" was the sitting on working parties together with "teachers and others".¹⁴ The rationale offered for the inclusion of Inspectors on these committees referred to their "breadth of experience",¹⁵ their authority in the matter of offering advice being derived from the claim that

They are professional educationists with a width of view and breadth of experience not shared by any other group in the Scottish educational world.¹⁶

How they were to be regarded in committee gave rise to a variety of roles and functions

..... on some /committees/, eg the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum and the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board inspectors sit in their own right: on some, eg on the Boards of Colleges of Education, they sit as the representatives of the Secretary of State; on others they have been invited to sit by bodies concerned as experts in the matters under study. In any event the Inspector is there to offer, from his own experience, information, guidance and advice.¹⁷

In giving his oral evidence, David Dickson, Brunton's successor as Senior Chief Inspector, pursued the matter further, asserting that in committee work, his fellow Inspectors felt that they were absolutely free to exercise independence of judgment, and to express their opinion whatever it might be. While it was conceded that there would be a necessary closing of ranks once decisions had been confirmed, the impression that both Dickson and Graham conveyed in their evidence was that Inspectors were expected to exercise independent judgments in their contributions to policy making. Surprisingly, a matter not touched upon either by the MPs conducting the enquiry or any of the witnesses, was that whatever personal qualities individual Inspectors or individual administrators had to bring to committee work, they were formally employed by the SED, a bureaucracy in which they had invested their career ambitions and on which they depended for advancement. Witnesses seemed reluctant to impugn the integrity of individual servants of the State, but one referred to the "invidious position"¹⁸ of Inspectors being obliged to commit themselves in published reports to policies that might be overturned by changes in government, and then being required to act in accordance with the new policies, or perhaps even actively promote them. More recently produced evidence suggests that Inspectors played a dominant role on working parties, providing starter papers for meetings, and chairing

the sub-committees into which larger committees were generally divided.¹⁹ While many of the committee members from outwith the Department accepted this as a matter of course, other felt less comfortable at the managerial expertise and assertive power of Inspectors on working parties. Commenting in general on the new role expected of the Inspectorate, W B Inglis, giving evidence to the 1968 Select Committee stated

This growing power of the HMI has been accompanied by the decline of the Advisory Council on Education to such an extent that it has not met since 1961. We have no independent body that is not influenced deeply and profoundly by our HMIs The point I am making essentially is that the Advisory Council ought not to have passed out of existence and been substituted by bodies on which HMIs were so strongly represented.²⁰

The decline in Scottish Advisory Council was matched by that of the Central Advisory Council, the successor to the Consultative Committee, in England. After its Plowden Committee had published its report in 1967, the English body was not recalled. And it would appear that this was a positive decision rather than an error of omission on the part of those with executive authority in that matter. Anthony Crosland, when Secretary of State with responsibility for education in England, had considered the CAC slow and cumbersome, and in published interviews he did not attempt to conceal this attitude.²¹ His impatience with the Council was shared by officers of the Department of Education and Science, Sir Herbert Andrew, a former Permanent Secretary, indicating his view to a Select Committee that

The statutory provision to have an advisory body to a Department which always has half a dozen advisory bodies of one kind or another sitting is an entire waste of words and waste of time. It seems to have been thought that there should be a great body which should sit almost continuously apparently to survey the whole field. We set up various committees to investigate various problems at various times, and this has been found to be a perfectly satisfactory way of working²²

Being an independent body, however, the CAC could not always be relied upon to make recommendations which could readily be integrated to departmental policy.

Clearly, what the CAC was experiencing in the sixties was a crisis of role. Historically, it was regarded as a weighty body whose deliberations were conducted at great length and resulted in reports going to the roots of the existing terms of provision. What was coming to be demanded, however, was a fairly speedy response to problems relating to particular questions. Like its counterpart body in Scotland, the CAC had come to be regarded as an anachronism which could not adapt to revised policy-making priorities. And like the Advisory Council, the CAC was allowed to fall into abeyance, the statutory basis of its constitution now imperilled by the 1986 Education Bill.²³ Although not yet on the agenda for a similar fate, it is unlikely that the Advisory Council will long escape that of the English body.

While running parallel courses, there were, however, important differences in the public perception of the two advisory bodies. The Advisory Council in Scotland was never accorded the status that the Consultative Committee and its successors commanded in England. Musgrave refers to the Consultative Committee as having been "a built-in agency of highly informed and progressive, as opposed to avant-garde criticism of the system".²⁴ and he credits it with having worked for "redefinition of education at whatever level was under consideration."²⁵ Corbett notes that "the worst gaps in provision and thinking have been where /the CACs/ were most marginally involved",²⁶ and she suggests that the value of the Central Advisory Councils lay in the quality of their reports which acted as stimuli to educational debate and eventually to educational change. Although the reports of the national committees in England were hardly more successful than those of Scotland as regards implementation in the short term, writers generally agree that these reports performed a valuable function in influencing the direction of subsequent reform.

The reputation of the Scottish Advisory Council, however, is less secure than that of the Consultative Committee and its successor. Only the first Advisory Council's report on the organisation of day schools and the sixth Council's major reports can be compared with the best-known reports of the Consultative Committee or the CAC as

proposals for radical reform. An obvious reason for the apparent ineptitude of the Advisory Council is that the Scottish Council, as Chapter 2 describes, was closely controlled by the Department in the conduct of its affairs. The educational environment obtaining in the two countries during the twenties and thirties also contributed significantly to the respective roles of the advisory bodies. In England, the initiative for reform came mainly from the lay members of educational authorities and a number of eminent educationists who had been appointed to the Consultative Committee.²⁷ In Scotland, however, the university departments of education and the SCRE became focal points for educational advance, and the main personalities associated with educational innovation in that period were not appointed to the Advisory Council. Perhaps the most charismatic figure in Scottish education, William Boyd, never served on the Advisory Council, though a place was found for him on the less influential Youth Advisory Council which sat during the war.

The constitutional position regarding the Department's right to impose itself restrictively on the Council was never seriously challenged. When the second Advisory Council accepted Macdonald's "Arrangements for Future Procedure" in 1925, it was on the condition that "it would always be permissible for the Council to propose topics for discussion with the Department",²⁸ but no attempt was made by the Council to act independently of the Department regarding remits. The most forward step ever taken in that direction was for an outgoing Council to suggest remits for its successor. Only once, in 1942, did the Council attempt to determine its own remits, when the sixth Council took Tom Johnston at his word, and proposed to undertake no fewer than eleven remits rather than the three that the Department had presented. On this occasion a compromise was negotiated, but significantly, the Council, in spite of inclinations to the contrary, deferred to the wishes of the Secretary of State and the Department. Even at that time, therefore, when the Council was at its most assertive, it declined to push the issue to the point of referring to the terms of the 1918 Act for resolution.

It is not necessarily the case, however, that even had the Advisory Council exercised control over the terms of its remits its outputs would have been significantly different. During the course of its existence, the Consultative Committee relied on the Board of Education to provide it with specific terms of reference, and this restriction seemed to have no inhibiting effect on the quality or relevance of its reports. Admittedly, after 1921, the Consultative Committee succeeded in having its way over the general terms of its remits, but final authority in this matter still rested with the Board.²⁹ The essential difference between the two committees was that while the English body seemed prepared to show considerable tenacity in impressing its views in discussions with the Board, the Scottish Council after 1921 was content to allow the initiative to rest with the Department. It was only during the Second World War when the independent minded Hamilton Fyfe became Chairman in 1942, and McClelland and Robertson began to take a leading part in the affairs of the sixth Council, that Advisory Council reports assumed a status that they had not enjoyed since the first heady days of 1920 and 1921.

The co-incidence of war and the Advisory Council at its most vigorous is notable: the Council was most active and influential during the Second World War. It is not the case, however, that the war itself exerted a powerful influence on the content and dynamic of the major reports. While the actual experience of war reinforced the need for co-operation advocated in the report on secondary education, and an awareness that sacrifices had been made and were yet being made gave point to the rhetoric of deserved reform, the thrust of the major reports derived more from the ideology of the educational "progressives", and from the pragmatic yet ambitious plans of "Middle Opinion" in the 1930s. The sixth Advisory Council had, fortuitously, found a powerful political sponsor in Tom Johnston, who was not, in fact, particularly well-informed regarding educational policy, but had been keen to initiate reform through committees rather than exclusively through civil servants. His support of the Council's independent stance proved critical during the years of his term of office as Secretary of State.

But after the Second World War, and though more highly regarded by the educational world than it had ever been before, the Council had yet to rely on the political will of ministers to have its recommendations implemented. And after Johnston left the Scottish Office the necessary political will was not expressed. In fact, the Department was left largely to determine its own priorities and policy within the limits of the Goschen formula in these years. Throughout the terms of office of the Advisory Council, the only Secretaries of State for Scotland who had expressed ministerial interest in the Advisory Council were Godfrey Collins and Tom Johnston, and neither of these to any enduring effect. Collins had prompted McKechnie to set the precedent of publishing Advisory Council reports, and Johnston had clearly ruffled a few feathers in the Department during the war, but neither Collins nor Johnston created or sustained broad lines of educational policy. It is true to say that no Secretary of State took an active part at the crucial stage of deliberating on reports of the Council. The fate of Advisory Council reports, therefore, without exception, lay in the hands of the senior Secretariat of the SED, who responded to them according to their own criteria. The report of the first Advisory Council had been dismissed by Struthers and Macdonald as being inconsistent with the policies for post-primary education that they themselves had regarded as sound, and Mackay Thomson chose to follow a strategy of reform dependent on the Code of 1939 rather than one based on the Advisory Council's report on secondary education.

The discretionary powers of senior civil servants may, however, have been more circumscribed than is immediately apparent. After the rejection of the first Advisory Council's report and the issue of Circular 44, there were strong claims that the emergent policy of the Department had been determined to a considerable extent by the imminence of the Geddes "cuts". The first Geddes report was published the day after the release of Circular 44, and foreknowledge of strict economic measures might, to some extent, have shaped the Department's policy. In the post-war period, Whitehall certainly exerted a strong influence on the Department's responses to the

reports of the Advisory Council, an influence which is not referred to in public statements. The principle of "parallel advance", the co-ordination of educational developments on each side of the Border with those of the other, had drawn considerable strength from the exchange of information between the SED and the Board of Education in the war years. Each anxious that it should be informed as to the other's responses to proposals for new legislation, close liaison had developed between the two departments. This awareness of the other's business was maintained in the post-war period, with the balance of influence accruing to the larger Ministry of Education (as the Board became under the 1944 Act). Pottinger notes that after the war "the great nationalisation and social measures were in the hands of Whitehall ministers",³⁰ and that with the departure of Johnston from the Scottish Office

/Scottish/ officials were also finding the climate had changed in their relationship with Whitehall departments they were less willing to agree to anything if there was the remotest likelihood that it would give Scotland the advantage.³¹

A not unreasonable extrapolation of this observation would suggest that the SED would have found it difficult, even should it have been so inclined, to attempt to outstrip the new Ministry in terms of educational development.

The fate of the Norwood Report is not irrelevant to that of the Advisory Council's report "Secondary Education". Both of these reports had come to the same conclusion regarding a School Certificate at 16 and external examinations – that all pupils leaving at 16 should be awarded a School Certificate on a subject basis, and that the examination for the School Certificate should be an internally-conducted one. The Norwood Committee, which had reported in 1943, and whose report was studied by the Advisory Council, had not hit on the ingenious idea of external moderation, but had recommended that for a transitional period of seven years the examination should be conducted by existing university examining bodies, but that

At the end of the transitional period the decision should be made whether conditions make possible a change to a wholly internal

examination, or whether there should be a further transitional period in which teachers would take still greater control of the examination, and the Universities still less.³²

On the receipt of the Norwood Report, the Board of Education was considerably more enthusiastic about the proposed new arrangements for examinations than the SED was to be on receiving the Advisory Council's equally radical "Secondary Education". But by 1947, the year in which the SED began to give serious attention to the recommendations of Robertson's report, circumstances South of the Border had altered significantly, and towards the creation of a situation more congenial to the SED's inclinations. As Gosden makes clear,³³ the Norwood recommendations on examinations were overturned by the Secondary Schools Examinations Council, rendering the School Certificate, or the new Ordinary level certificate as it was to become, entirely unsuitable to the school leaver of average ability. This reversal of the Norwood proposals was taken by Mackay Thomson as legitimation of his own preferred strategy for the reform of the Leaving Certificate, which offered neither the 15-year old school leaver nor the 16-year old leaver of average ability any form of national certification.

Clearly, it would be naive to suggest that the SED pushed through its reform of the Leaving Certificate in strict accordance with the doctrine of "parallel development", for counter-examples could be cited of numerous persisting incongruities between the two educational systems. But the evidence suggests that in the crucial area of secondary schools examinations, the SED displayed a concern that they should not be out of step with the M of E. The decision to retain the Leaving Certificate as an externally examined award was, of course, made easier by the fact that none of the interest groups consulted had put up a spirited resistance to the proposals made by Arbuckle's committee, and that politicians and local administrators had other priorities. The fact remains, however, that perhaps the central recommendation of the report "Secondary Education", that there should be a School Certificate at 16, and that it should be based on an internally-conducted examination, was rejected, to some extent

at least, as a consequence of a decision taken on the system in England.

* * * * *

The main strengths of the Advisory Council were that it was an independent body which could make recommendations on educational policy on their educational merits, and that through a structure of sub-committees it could co-ordinate the various lines of policy proposed. The inherent weakness of the Council, however, was that it had no power to secure the implementation of its recommendations. In the absence of strong support from ministers, even its most admired reports failed to elicit positive response from Government. In fact, the impact made by the Council depended more on factors outwith its control than those over which it was its own master. It was only ever brought into play as a policy-proposing body at the behest of the Department, and the fate of its proposals always lay in the hands of the Department in the first instance. As has been noted, however, the SED was not itself a free agent in the making of policy, although it often gave the appearance of being so. The price of sustaining the appearance of autonomy was that it produced policy acceptable to Whitehall without close ministerial directive. In so doing, it was perceived on several occasions as being out of touch with Scottish opinion. Advisory Council reports, on the other hand, have usually been approved by the Scottish educational community, and were always a potential source of embarrassment to the Department. The hybrid successors to the Advisory Council, structures in which members of the Department sit together with representatives of the educational interest groups, were no doubt conceived as instruments for harnessing Departmental initiative to public opinion, and devices for linking planning to execution. In fulfilling these functions they may have obviated confrontation such as that which from time to time accompanied the submission of Advisory Council reports, and thereby reduced the tension between the centre and the periphery. On the other hand, the new structures might simply have removed the process of advising on educational policy, and its attendant differences of opinion, to a more controlled environment.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1

ADVISORY COUNCILS ON EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND, 1920–1961, AND THE SUBJECTS CONSIDERED BY THEM

ADAPTED FROM THE ED 8 REPERTORY OF THE SCOTTISH RECORDS OFFICE

1st Advisory Council: 30/1/20 to 1/11/24

Admission of non-public schools to the Superannuation Scheme;

The Organisation of Day Schools;

Urban and Rural Continuation Classes;

Changes in the Regulations for the Training of Teachers;

Conditions of Entrance to the Scottish Universities.

2nd Advisory Council: 8/11/24 to 30/10/29

Supply of Men Teachers;

Adult Education;

Superannuation Rules;

Extension of Superannuation Scheme to non-grant-aided schools;

Organised Industry and Education.

3rd Advisory Council: 1/11/29 to 30/10/34

Physical Education and Character Training;

Separate Secondary Schools and Advanced Divisions for Girls;

Co-ordination of Public Library services;

Men's Institutes and Possible Changes in the Continuation Class System;

Courses of Training for Women Teachers.

4th Advisory Council

Technical Education in the Day School System;

Staggering of School Holidays.

5th Advisory Council

This Council was appointed in 1939 but owing to the outbreak of war it never functioned and it became moribund.

6th Advisory Council: 5/11/42 to 30/6/46

Citizenship;

Bursaries;

Adult Education;

Technical and Continued Education;

Buildings;

Primary Education;

Secondary Education;

Supply and Recruitment of Teachers;

Training of Teachers.

7th Advisory Council: 1/1/47 to 30/6/51

Further Education;

Libraries;

Higher Technological Education;

Visual and Aural Aids;

Handicapped Children.

8th Advisory council: 18/2/57 to 30/6/61

Supply of Teachers;

Transfer Procedures from Primary to Secondary Education;

The Post-Fourth Year Examination Structure.

APPENDIX 2

NOTES ON UNPUBLISHED REPORTS OF THE COUNCIL (SEE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR LIST OF PUBLISHED REPORTS)

The admission of non-public schools to the Superannuation Scheme for Teachers (1920)

This matter was dealt with as the first item of business of the first Advisory Council. Teachers in non-public schools were not automatically eligible for admission to the Superannuation Scheme, and the Department would normally exercise its judgment as to which schools' teachers should be admitted. The criterion was whether a school was essentially a profit making organisation or an educational establishment. Dealt with over two meetings of the Council, the "report" was the Council's agreement that the list of schools submitted by the Department should be admitted to the Scheme.

Regulations for the Training of Teachers (1924)

The main terms of these draft Regulations presented by the Department for the Council's approval, were that the minimum standard for entry to teacher training should become the full Leaving Certificate, and that all male candidates for the Teacher's General Certificate (qualification to teach in primary schools) should be graduates. No formal written report was presented in response to this remit, and none had been requested. Verbal approval was, however, given to the Department's proposal to raise the standard of entry to the training institutions to the full Leaving Certificate, but the Council objected, again verbally, that in demanding graduate status of all male candidates for teacher training as an immediate step that the supply of teachers would be adversely affected, and that this action would cause a disproportionate feeling of annoyance in the profession. (Catholic schools were still recruiting non-graduate males to teach in primary schools). This objection by the Council was rejected by the Department, although not openly in committee, and the published Regulations made no reference to the Advisory Council's disapproval of the Department's initiative.

Conditions of entry to the Scottish Universities (1924)

This piece of Advisory Council business was conducted after the last full meeting of the first Advisory Council had taken place in May, 1924. No report was written, rather a request was made of the Department by the Council that a representation be made to the Scottish Universities' Entrance Board that the Board's indecision about entrance qualifications "is seriously hampering the work of the Secondary Schools in Scotland". The Department duly complied with this request, and, noting that they were acting on the advice of the Advisory Council, informed the Entrance Board that this was a matter deserving their earnest attention. This was the only occasion of collusion between the Council and the Department to bring pressure to bear on a third party.

On the draft Rules under the Education (Scotland) (Superannuation) Act, 1925, and the new Superannuation Scheme for Teachers thereunder (1926)

In the parliamentary debate on this topic, it was proposed by the Government that a sub-committee of the Council should be set up to advise on the draft rules. In response to that call a sub-committee was immediately set up, and was supplied with the draft rules which had been prepared by the Department. The instructions to the sub-committee were that they should consider the rules but should not comment on the Scheme itself, the principles of which had been set out by Government. Prior to reporting back to the Council as the parent body, the usual procedure when a sub-committee had been convened, the sub-committee submitted its conclusions directly to the Department, which, without delay, incorporated the sub-committee's suggestions with regard to sick leave in the re-draft of the rules.

Dearth of Men Teachers

The second Council submitted to the SED in 1928 an unpublished report on the decrease in the proportion of men teachers in the non-secondary sector (primary and advanced divisions). A committee of the Council had been set up to investigate the causes of the reluctance of men to take up posts in other than secondary schools,

and between 1925 and 1928 that committee, with the close and active co-operation of the Department, conducted a survey of the ratios of men to women teachers in several Education Authority areas. Once compiled and tabulated, however, the committee seemed at a loss to know how best to make use of its figures, and the only recommendation presented as a result of the survey was that of improving salaries and prospects for men teachers.

On the Present Position of Adult Education and its relationship to Existing Agencies and Facilities (1928)

In response to a remit from the Department to make recommendations on the organisation and promotion of adult education, the second Council set up a sub-committee in 1925 to make enquiries and draft a report. By March, 1926, a draft report was prepared for the approval of the Council, recommending that the three main agents involved in adult education, the Education Authorities, the universities, and voluntary bodies (principally the WEA) should co-ordinate their activities through provincial and local joint committees. In recommending organisation on a provincial basis, the Advisory Council was drawing on the model then operating in England. There was, however, a difference between Scottish and English conditions. In England, funding for adult education was provided by the B of E directly to provincial committees, while in Scotland, the Education Authorities were the financially responsible bodies. But there were no local joint committees in England such as the Advisory Council had recommended for Scotland, as the local authorities there did not play the critical financial role that was expected of them in Scotland. The draft report presented to the full Council in March, 1926, indicated that the cost of adult education classes conducted at university standard should be met by the university from its own funds, or by the Provincial Joint Committee out of funds provided by the university, supplemented where necessary by funds provided by Education Authorities.

The report was, in fact, adopted by the Council, but in view of the responsibilities laid on the universities by the report, it was deemed prudent to "leak" the report to the

universities to test their response, before formally submitting it to the Department. Discreet enquiries were made, and while the machinery of Provincial Joint Committees was generally approved, the establishment of local committees, as proposed, found less favour with the universities. The complicated financial arrangements recommended also proved unacceptable to the universities. As a consequence of this setback, the sub-committee redrafted its report, omitting on this occasion reference to universities' financial involvement. But the submission of the report to the Department was further delayed for various reasons, and in the meantime the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh worked out schemes with the local authorities of their provinces, the basis of which was Provincial Joint Committees as recommended by the Advisory Council. When eventually presented to the Department at the end of 1928, the report of the Advisory Council made no mention of the creation of Provincial Committees, but assumed their existence.

The Department showed little interest in the subject of this remit during the course of its deliberations and no more on the presentation of the report. Its "audience" was in fact the local authorities and the universities, rather than the Department, which had practically no authority in the field of adult education.

On the standards of the Leaving Certificate Examination and the University Preliminary Examination (1929)

This remit was suggested by a Council member, Mary Tweedie (see "Notes and References", Chapter 3). The problem addressed was that both the Leaving Certificate and the universities' own Preliminary Examinations were accepted as criteria for entry to university. The Advisory Council made the point that the apparently easier university examinations were attracting pupils away from concentration on the Leaving Certificate: a certain dissatisfaction with the Leaving Certificate was also implied. The Department was stung into a reply to that criticism, Macdonald sending a personal letter to the Chairman of the Council in which he gave his views on the relationship between the Leaving Certificate and the Preliminary Examinations. This letter

persuaded the Council that the universities were irresponsible in their entrance procedures, and the outcome was that a meeting was arranged between the Department and the Entrance Board to agree procedures. On this occasion, the Advisory Council acted as a prompt to discussion between the two bodies with responsibility for the entrance examinations.

On the Work of the Men's Institutes (1931)

An enquiry into the work of Men's Institutes in Scotland was undertaken in response to a publication "Work of Men's Institutes in London". The existence of that pamphlet was drawn to the attention of the Council by the Department, which supplied a copy of it in June, 1930. No action was taken until early 1931, when a memorandum was requested from the Director of Education for Dunbartonshire, to give information about an experiment in Men's Institutes and Junior Men's Institutes being conducted at the Renton Continuation Centre. On the basis of that memorandum, together with one supplied by a member of the Council (Cameron Smail), and the pamphlet on Men's Institutes in London, the Council came to the decision that the provision of such centres should be encouraged in Scotland, providing that existing educational provision should be fully conserved. No formal report was drafted, the typewritten draft simply being conveyed to the Department by the Secretary of the Council. There is no record of any action having been taken as a result of the submission of the report.

On the desirability of having Separate Advanced Division and Secondary Schools for boys and girls (1931)

At six meetings between June, 1930, and March, 1931, the views of the Council on this topic were formed. At two of these meetings, evidence was taken from several head teachers and three directors of education, leading to a memorandum being produced by a Council member. The memorandum produced was taken as the basis of a short typewritten report to the Department (600-700 words). The

conclusions of the report were uncontroversial: that no uniformity of treatment could be recommended: that while it would be unwise to adopt a policy which might restrict experiment, it would be equally undesirable to overturn the Scottish tradition of mixed education. The only positive recommendation was that in co-educational schools, a Lady Superintendent should be appointed to deal with the special problems of girls.

Whether the present provision for Physical Education and Character Training in schools is satisfactory (1931)

Identified as a matter of "priority" at the first meeting of the third Council, these related subjects became the focus of attention of a sub-committee of the Council, which produced two memoranda as the basis of a report which was adopted by the full Council in March, 1931. In submitting the report to the Department, the Council offered the caution that "..... they felt that its terms must necessarily be suggestive and general rather than definite and detailed". The recommendations made in the report were indeed lacking in detail, making observations on the status of physical education, that it ought to be looked on as an integral feature of the curriculum rather than an "outside school development", and that, wherever possible, it should be taught by specialists. With regard to character training, the general advice given was that head teachers should use their discretion as to the approach to be adopted. Framed in such imprecise terms, it is hardly surprising that the report elicited no response from the Department.

APPENDIX 3

STRUTHERS PROPOSED TERMS FOR THE CREATION OF AN ADVISORY COUNCIL

(extracted from ED 14/140, Struthers to Munro, 12/6/17)

My suggestions, therefore, for the constitution of an Advisory Council are roughly as follows:-

(i) That it should strictly be an Advisory Council after the manner of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, which is the only existing prototype;

(ii) That it should contain, however, differing therein from the English Consultative Committee – people who had the confidence of the new authorities and also of the Teachers' Associations. – these people, however, to be nominated by the Minister after ascertaining the views of the Associations concerned as to the people who were likely to be acceptable to them. It should also contain representatives of the Universities and Central Institutions appointed in the same way, and also other people directly nominated by the Minister;

(iii) That the chief function of this body should be to advise the Department as to the setting up from time to time Committees of enquiry on various subjects of education, composed in large part of persons who are not members of the Advisory Council, and to assist in settling the terms of reference and scope of the enquiry. Possibly they might also be invited to express an opinion as to the value of the results obtained;

(iv) That large questions of policy which it would be desirable to refer to the local authorities in any case before action was taken should be, in the first place, discussed by the Advisory Council so as to elicit prevailing views and facilitate further action;

(v) The committee should be treated as a kind of Privy Council to the Department, and its whole proceedings therefore regarded as confidential, except in so far as the Minister might think fit to publish any of their deliverances;

(vi) With these ends in view, and looking to the fact that outsiders will be brought in for the consideration of detailed questions, there is no need that the Committee should be of unwieldy dimensions so as to make it representative of every local authority as well as of each University and Central Institution, to say nothing of the many private Associations with educational ends in view which would quite surely press for representation if the representative principle were adopted. I see no reason why it should not be kept within the limit of fifteen or sixteen, or so.

APPENDIX 4

PRINTS OF THE "ADVISORY COUNCIL" CLAUSE AT SIGNIFICANT STAGES
OF ITS PASSAGE THROUGH PARLIAMENTFirst Reading

Clause 22 – It shall be lawful for his Majesty in Council by Order to establish an advisory council (hereinafter in this section called "the council") consisting as to not less than two thirds of the members of persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education for the purpose of –

(a) conferring with representatives of the Department or otherwise advising the Department on questions of policy or administration referred to the council by the Department as a preliminary to the laying of Minutes on the table of both Houses of Parliament or to the issue of suggestions for consideration of local education authorities;

(b) co-operating with the Department in the selection of the members of committees to be appointed by the Department consisting of persons of special knowledge and experience, whose duty it shall be to inquire into and report upon any matter referred to them by the Department; and

(c) advising the Department on any other matter that may be referred to the Council by the Department.

Second Reading

Clause 20 – It shall be lawful for his Majesty in Council by order to establish an advisory council consisting as to not less than two-thirds of the members of persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education, for the purpose of advising the Department on matter referred to the advisory council by the Department, and the Department shall take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the advisory council.

Print submitted to Lords

Clause 20 - It shall be lawful for his Majesty in Council by order to establish an advisory council consisting as to not less than two-thirds of the members of persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education for the purpose of advising the Department on educational matters, and the Department shall take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the advisory council.

This remained the final version of the clause.

APPENDIX 5

Eleven remits proposed by the sixth Advisory Council at their meeting of 27/11/42 (extracted from ED 8/23, Minutes of meeting of Advisory Council, 27th November, 1942)

- 1 Training of Young People in the Duties and Rights of Citizenship.
- 2 Organisation and Curriculum of Primary Schools, including Nursery Schools.
- 3 Organisation and Curricula of Secondary Schools and Regulations for the award of the Junior Leaving Certificate and the Senior Leaving Certificate.
- 4 Technical Education, including technical education in the Day School.
- 5 Recruitment and Training of Teachers.
- 6 Adult Education.
- 7 Commercial Education.
- 8 The Education of Handicapped Children.
- 9 Approved Schools.
- 10 Rural and Agricultural Education.
- 11 Administration of Education in Scotland.

APPENDIX 6

Committees of the sixth Council

APPOINTED	CONVENER	REMIT
27/11/42	McClelland	Teachers – Supply, Recruitment and Training
27/11/42	Greenhill	Adult Education
16/4/43	Garnet Wilson	Citizenship
16/4/43	Cameron Smail	Continued Education and Technical Education
6/7/43	Clark	Bursaries
1/10/43	Mair	Secondary Education
1/10/43	Garnet Wilson	School Buildings
18/8/44	Ritchie	Primary Education

APPENDIX 7

Some points from the Interim Report of the Departmental Committee set up to consider the Advisory Council's Report on Secondary Education (File ED 8/51)

These points are extracted from the second draft of the Interim Report made after seven meetings of the Committee, held between 9/6/47 and 13/1/48. Although further drafts of this Interim report were made after 9 meetings of the Committee, they contained no significant changes.

.... The fact that the Report is exceptionally well written produces on a first reading a favourable impression which is perhaps not wholly confirmed by a closer examination,

.... The Committee feel it is desirable to draw attention at this stage to a number of the more important recommendations in the Report with which they are unable to agree

Paragraphs 96 and 97 While the closer co-ordination of history and geography is recognised to be desirable, it seems highly doubtful whether these subjects can be completely fused. This matter is being further considered by the /Department's/ panels for history and geography.

Paragraph 128 It is considered that both competition and co-operation have a part to play in education, and that the latter cannot be substituted for the former as suggested in 5(b).

Paragraphs 132 to 134 The desirability of a reduction in the number of specialist teachers in the earlier years of the secondary school is recognised, but it is regarded as over-ambitious to expect one teacher to take all subjects at this stage.

Paragraphs 139 and 177 It is considered that 600 would be too small a roll for an

omnibus school, and that a minimum of 1000 would be necessary for efficient organisation.

Paragraph 143 The recommendation that the secondary school, if possible, be of the omnibus type is accepted subject to the reservation that the determining factor must frequently be local circumstances.

paragraphs 146 to 150 Less than justice is done to the junior secondary school by the views expressed in these paragraphs, although the balance is, to some extent, restored in paragraph 157.

Paragraphs 629 to 634 In view of the Council's general preference for the omnibus school, it is not understood why it should be suggested that special area or regional centres should be provided for domestic and technical courses in rural areas.

Paragraph 659 The Committee consider that there is no real need or demand for the proposed change in the title of the Inspectorate.

Paragraph 660 It is felt that the paragraph does not do justice to the care which the Inspectorate and the Department take to make school reports informative and helpful.

Paragraphs 661 to 663 The criticism in these paragraphs exaggerates the difficulty which a new recruit to the Inspectorate finds in undertaking primary inspection, and it is not agreed that an initial course at a Training Centre would be a satisfactory solution.

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